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CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

LESTORIE DES ENGLES.

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LESTORIE DES ENGLES

SOLUM

LA TRANSLACION

MAISTRE GEFFREI GAIMAR.

EDITED

BY

THE LATE SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L.,
DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS;

AND

CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A.

VOL. II.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

The present volume contains the translations of "Lestorie des Engles" and of the "Lai d Haueloc le "Danois." The translations have been made line by line in order that the same index may refer both to the texts and to the translations.

The preface to the previous volume treated of the manuscripts in which Gaimar's work is preserved and of the language employed by him, but there remain to be said a few words about historical matters connected therewith.

The author.

Considerable research has failed to bring to light any more facts about the author of "Lestorie des Engles" than are told by himself.[1] He wrote the book at the request of Custance, wife of Ralf FitzGilbert,[1] using for it manuscripts borrowed by their friend Walter Espec from Robert Earl of Gloucester. This nobleman was natural son of Henry I.—

"li reis meillur
"ki vnkes fust, ne iames seit"[2]

according to Gaimar.

Gloucester died in 1147, and as it is clear from Gaimar's words that he wrote in his lifetime, this date is the latest limit of time for the composition of the work. The earl's father, King Henry, appears, from the language used concerning him, to be dead, though this is not distinctly stated. If this assumption be correct, 1135 would be the earliest date possible. In any case,

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[1] See vv. 6435, et seqq. | [2] v. 6505.

Gaimar precedes by some years Maistre Wace, who wrote in 1155.

As to Gaimar's nationality, his frequent mistranslations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle prove him not to have been an Englishman; he was, no doubt, a Norman, the French in which he writes being his natural tongue. His name may, perhaps, have been derived from a place in the town of Caen described by Mons. Dupont, formerly a judge of the Court of Appeal there, and author of the *Histoire du Côtentin*, as "un petit "quartier qui renferme une rue, une fontaine et un "moulin, qui ont porté de toute antiquité et portent "encore aujourdhui, le nom de Gémare."[1] The Rue Gémare is to the south-west of the castle, south-east of the Benedictine convent, and runs from the Rue des Cordeliers to the Rue des Teinturiers. The "Molen-"dinum de Gaimara," which was granted in frank-almoign to the Abbey of Ardenne by Richard I.,[2] is now the "Usine Hydraulique de Gémare."[3]

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[1] I am indebted for this letter to the kindness of my friend Mr. W. L. de Gruchy.

[2] Stapleton, Rot. Scacc. Norm. I., 185, &c.; Charter Roll, 1 John, v. 6; Rot. Norm., 2 John, pp. 15, 16.

[3] "La Rue de Gemare est celle "qui va du Moulin de Gemare à "la Rue de Geosle. Le Moulin, "la Fontaine voisine, le Pont sur "l'Odon, qu'on nomme Le Ponchel, "et tout ce petit quartier, portent ce "même surnom de Gemare. Dans "les anciennes Chartres des do-"nations faites a l'abbaye de S. "Estienne, ce Moulin est appellé "*Molendinum de Waimara*. Et "les Registres posterieurs, mais "anciens, l'appellent Guymare, "Gymare, Gimaire, Giesmare et "Guiemare. Cette Rue de Ge-"mare s'appelle autrement les "Tours des Terres. Quoyque ce "nom ne se trouve point dans M. "le Bras, il n'est pourtant pas "récent. Ces mêmes Registres "marquent un Petit, un Grand & "un Haut Gemare. Il appellent "le Petit Gemare, le bas de la "Rue de Gemare, qui aboutit à "la rue de Geosle, et le Grand "Gemare le haut de la même "rue, qui aboutit au Moulin "de Gemare, et à la rue des "Teinturiers; et le Haut Gemare, "la Rue qui va du Moulin de "Gemare au Carrefour de l'Epin-"ette. Ils placent aussi vers la "Rue de Gemare, la Rue et l'Hotel "de Foulongne, la Rue de la Bou-"cherie, et la Venelle de l'Image, "mais dont on ignore la situation." Origines de la Ville de Caen, Daniel Huet, 1706, p. 97.

This locality supplied a surname to its inhabitants, and in 1195 Robert and William de Gaimara paid their share of the tallage for the ransom of Richard I.[1]

Among the suite of Humbert Count of Maurienne, at the marriage settlement of his daughter Aalis with John son of King Henry II., there was a person named Gofredus Gamerii,[2] which sounds very much like the Latin for Geffrei Gaimar. This marriage treaty took place in 1173, when Gaimar might possibly have been alive, but there is no evidence of the identity of the two persons.

A similar name is found in the Lombard princely family of Salerno, four of the reigning princes between A.D. 880 and 1050 being named Guaimarius (*Guaimaro*) or Weimarius,[3] but this was not a surname.

Another similar name, Gamardus, is older, and probably of a different origin. St. Erembert in the seventh century had a brother Gamardus, who was a benefactor of the Benedictine abbey of S. Wandrille, near Caudebec,[4] and in the eleventh century a man of the same name was a benefactor of the monks of Dol.[5]

The name, however, cannot have been common or have survived till later times, as it is not mentioned in Moisy's "Noms de Famille Normands."

In England the various forms in which the name occurs are as follows. Guarinus fil. Guimeri was a witness to a charter of Alan Earl of Brittany and Richmond, to Fountains Abbey, which was founded about 1132.[6]

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[1] Stapleton, Rot. Scacc. Norm. I., 172, 173, 175, 180.

[2] Eened. Abbas, i. 38. The MS. (Jul. A. XI. f. 43 b) has Sofredus here and again further on, but this is almost certainly an error, S and G being much alike in some MS.

[3] Codex Dipl. Cavensis, i. x.; Pertz, iii. 210; P. Giannone, Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, i. 364; Grævius, Thesaur. Antiq. et Hist. Italiæ, vol. ix., pt. i., 39, 43, &c.; Peregrini, Hist. Princip. Langobard. i. 260, 261, v. i.

[4] Gall. Christ., xi. 161 b.

[5] Bréquigny, Table Chronologique des Diplomes, ii. 217.

[6] Dugd. Monast., v. 306.

Some time before 1195 a certain Guiemarus gave certain lands, and himself as well, to Jervaulx Abbey.[1] His brother Roger fil. Radulfi is mentioned at the same time. In the Jervaulx Charters printed by Dugdale, Rogerus fil. Wyemari, Rogerus de Guuymary, and Hugo fil. Wymari occur, with a brother Garnarus or Warnerius. No doubt these all refer to the same person, and there is some error either in the fine or the charters.

In or before 1199 there was a Guiomar son of Warin de Bassingeburn connected with Hertfordshire.[2] The coincidence of the names leads to the suggestion that we have here a son of the Guarinus mentioned at the foot of the last page. In the same year, 1 John,[3] the King confirmed a grant of the manor of Thwiford and lands in Campeden by the Earl of Chester to a Breton named Gwiomarus, perhaps the same person as G. the Breton hostage, in the custody of the Abbot of Fécamp, whom Alan Fitz Count obtained from the King at the price of a gift of four greyhounds.[4] The fact that Alan witnesses the charter to Guiomarus renders this probable. In the next King's reign Guimerus Senescallus is found acting as justice in Norfolk and Suffolk.[5] Perhaps some future discovery, accidental or otherwise, may establish some connexion between the poet and some of these names, but at present no such conjectures can be hazarded.

A Gaufridus Capellanus also attested charters to Kirkstead,[6] the abbey of which Ralf Fitz Gilbert was a benefactor, but the name is very common, and identification is impossible.

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[1] viginti acris terre in Cristecroft cum pertinenciis quas Guiemarus frater suus dedit cum corpore suo abbacie de Gerevall. Fines, Unknown and Divers Counties 10.

[2] Rot. Cur. Reg., 1 John, vol. ii., 139.

[3] Charter Roll, 1 John, m. 10.

[4] Rot. de Oblatis, p. 29.

[5] Close Roll, 10 Hen. III., m. 26 d.

[6] Dugd. Mon., v. 419.

There was another Galfridus, who was chaplain of Henry I.;[1] and a man holding such an appointment might well be able to say, as Gaimar does,—

"Sil ad guarant
Del Rei Henri dirrat auant;
Ke sil en volt vn poi parler
E de sa vie translater,
Tels mil choses en purrad dire
Ke vnkes Davit ne fist escriuere."[2]

But the date of the charter to which his name is appended (1125–1127) makes it unlikely that this person should be Gaimar. It is more likely to be Geoffrey Rufus, chancellor, afterwards Bishop of Durham. The same name is found on the Pipe Rolls of the reign of Henry II.,[3] but there is nothing to identify the person.

Ralf Fitz Gilbert.

I have also attempted to identify Raul le fiz Gilebert, who appears to have been Gaimar's patron, but without arriving at any certainty. That he lived in the east of England is most probable from Gaimar's reference to events in that part of the kingdom. I find accordingly a man named Radulfus filius Gilleberti in the service of Gilbert of Ghent, second Earl of Lincoln. As a reward for his services the earl granted him the lordship of the town of Scampton in Lincolnshire, with 26 bovates of land, and a mill, for the service of half a knight.[4] Scampton is in the hundred of Lawress, then called the Wapentake of Laulris.

A few years later Ralf gave this land, together with Thomas son of Wigot and his descendants and his holding, to Kirkstead Abbey.[5] The charter is addressed to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, who must be Robert de Chesney, bishop from 1147 to 1168, and it was con-

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[1] Dugd. Mon., iii. 87.
[2] vv. 6484–9.
[3] Pipe Roll, 2 Hen. II., p. 16; 7 Hen. II., p. 68.
[4] Vesp. E. xviii., 99 b.
[5] Vesp. E. xviii. 99; Dugd. Mon. Angl., v. 421.

firmed, with other grants, by Henry II., between 1157 and 1161.[1]

The grant was confirmed also by Rohesia, widow of Earl Gilbert, in a twofold method, by a repetition of the grant to Ralf with a remission of the service, and by a grant of confirmation to the abbey.[2] In the latter document the countess states that the land in question had previously been given to her by her husband as dower.

The probable date of this confirmation is between 1149 and 1156. Alice her daughter, with her husband, Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, also signified their concurrence.[3]

These confirmations certainly suggest some connexion between Ralf and the family of Gilbert of Ghent.

In another charter of the earl, the same name (Rad. fil. Gileberti), and doubtless the same person, occurs as a witness.[4] According to Dugdale, Gilbert left only daughters, and it is possible that Ralf was an illegitimate son. In the Countess of Lincoln's confirmation, a brother of Ralf is mentioned, bearing the same Christian name, and called Radulphus Villanus.[5] This might possibly be a brother by another father.

None of these charters contains the name of Custance, FitzGilbert's wife, according to Gaimar. A wife is mentioned but nameless, and a nameless son, who was buried at Scampton in his father's lifetime.[6] Another son, Ralf, confirms the donation to Kirkstead, and appears at a later time as tenant of a later Gilbert of Ghent, the earl's nephew, and as assisting him in redressing injuries committed against the see of Norwich,

[1] Harl. Ch. 43, c. 17. The 26 bovates of the original grant here figure as 3 carucates and 3 bovates.

[2] Vesp. E. xviii. 99 b.; Harl. Ch. 50, F. 32.

[3] Cott. Ch., xvi. 37; Vesp. E. xviii. 99 b; A. in Charters; Dugdale calls her Alice, Baronage, 400.

[4] Harl. Ch. 83, E. 54.

[5] Harl. Ch. 50, F. 32.

[6] Vesp. E. xviii. 99.

when it was taken by Louis of France in 1216.[1] This confirmation by Ralf the younger, and his father's second charter, are both attested by a person who, if our identification of Ralf Fitz Gilbert be correct, may very possibly have been Gaïmar himself. In one place he is called "Gaufridus Capellanus de Tateshale," and in the other simply "Gaufridus Capellanus." [2]

Gaimar does not expressly say that he was a priest, but it is certainly probable.

The founder of Markby Priory in Lincolnshire,[3] and the benefactor of the Gilbertine House of Lindelai, whose donation was confirmed by Henry II. about 1155,[4] were contemporaries of the benefactor of Kirkstead, and may have been the same person. The same may be said of Randulfus, who was brother of Robert Fitz Gilbert of Thadwell, founder of Leyborne Nunnery,[5] and present at the declaration of the grant at the grantor's funeral, by William his son, which must have taken place before the reign of John.

This Robert Fitz Gilbert occurs in the Pipe Roll of 7 Henry II. as living in Lincolnshire,[6] while Ralf must have had property also in Wiltshire, as 4 marks which he owed to the Exchequer were directed to be levied in that county.[7]

The same name occurs also in 9–10 Ric. I. (1197–9) in Bedfordshire,[8] in 3 John (1201–2) in Lincolnshire, Notts, and Derby,[9] in 1218 in the West of England,[10] and during the same century in Kent.[11]

The Lincolnshire notice may possibly refer to the person in question, or to his son, but not the others.

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[1] Vesp. E. xviii., f. 106 b.

[2] Gauf' capell' et Jugan' filius ejus.

[3] Dugd. Mon. Angl., vi. 561.

[4] Harl. Ch. 43, c. 19.

[5] Dugd. Mon. Angl., v. 634.

[6] Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II., p. 16.

[7] Pipe Roll, 7 Hen. II., p. 57.

[8] Rot. Cur. Reg., i. 153, 172.

[9] Rotulus Cancellarii, pp. 169, 191, 313.

[10] Close Roll, 2 Hen. III., p. 355.

[11] Harl. Ch. 79 D. 42.

Contemporary with Gaimar there were also other Fitz Gilberts:—Alexander, in Essex;[1] Baldwin, who witnessed two charters of King Stephen, dated at Lincoln and Northampton, and another connected with Bourne in Lincolnshire;[2] Reginald, who had a house near "Wenlauesdene" and "Bulileie";[3] "Ricardus fil. "Gisleb. fil. Bleihoc," in the West;[4] "Herbertus filius "Gilleberti filii Herberti de Rigghesbia," a benefactor of the Nuns of Grenefeld;[5] Conanus fil. Roberti fil. Gilberti, alive in 1154;[6] Jordan, who gave the church of Wilberfoss, Yorks, to the nunnery there, in the reign of Henry II.;[7] Walter, who granted land at Wallam to Maurice fil. Galfredi;[8] John, who attested a pardon granted by Henry Duke of Normandy to Ranulf Earl of Chester in 1152;[9] and William, who performed the same function with regard to a charter to the monks of St. Neots, in 1165.[10]

The surname occurs several times[11] also in the following century, especially in the eastern counties, but it has not been possible to establish any relationship between the various holders, as patronymics had scarcely become general for family names at this early period.

Walter Espec.

As to Walter Espec (the Woodpecker) who lent Lady Custance some of the books which Gaimar used, there is no difficulty. His name is well known as the founder of the Abbeys of Kirkham, Rievaulx, and Wardon, and for his gallant conduct at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. "The noblest character among the lay barons of

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[1] Cott. Ch., xxvii. 96.
[2] Harl. Ch., 43 C. 13; 50 A. 9; 83 A. 24.
[3] Harl. Ch. 78 A. 53.
[4] Harl. Ch. 49 B. 23.
[5] Harl. Ch. 55 D. 12.
[6] Pipe Roll Soc. Charters, i. 54.
[7] Dugd. Mon. Angl., iv. 354.
[8] Add. MS. 5937, f. 150.
[9] Rym., i. 16; Cott. Ch., xvii. 2.
[10] Add. Ch. 8617.
[11] Harl. Ch. 52 F. 7, 9; 52 E. 38, 39; 50 A. 42; 51 B. 14, 16, 22, 25; 52 F. 46; 44 G. 44; 50 A. 41; 50 B. 30; 57 D. 48, E. 7; 83 G. 19, 28; 84 A. 2; Add. Ch. 5381, 20923, 20924, 20961–2, 8412–3, 20689; Campb. Ch., v. 9; Lansd. Ch., 405; Cotton Ch., xxix. 5.

"his time,"[1] he died in Rievaulx Abbey in 1153, leaving no issue, his son having been killed by a fall from his horse.[2] His three sisters inherited his estates, of whom the second, Albreda, married Nicolas de Trailli, and had four sons by him, Geoffrey, William, Nicholas, and Gilbert. The Nicolas de Trailli appealed to by the poet[3] is either Albreda's husband or son.

Sources of the poem.

The history of the composition of Gaimar's poem, according to what the author himself tells us, was as follows:— Custance the wife of Ralf Fitz Gilbert suggested the work to him. His facts were derived from many books, French, English, and Latin, and the following are especially mentioned.

1. A translation made by order of Robert, Earl of Gloucester of a Welsh Chronicle of Welsh Kings, which was borrowed for the purpose by Walter Espec. The earl was a great patron of learning, and it is to him that Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicates his *Historia Regum Britanniæ*, which is very probably the book referred to here. This has not been much used in *Lestorie des Engles*, but was no doubt the foundation of the *livere bien devant*, referred to in the opening lines, though the statement that Iwain was made King of Mureif and Loeneis[4] does not quite tally with Geoffrey of Monmouth's story. Iwain, however, may be merely a mistake of Gaimar's for Urien, whom Arthur is said to have made King of Mureif, while Loudonesia was the share of Lot his brother-in-law.

2. A book belonging to Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. This is the person who is known as Walter "Calenius," a surname, according to Mr. H. Bradley, with no contemporary authority, but given, presumably by Bale, or some other modern scholar as a classical translation of

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[1] Norgate's Angevin Kings, i. 67.

[2] Ailredus Abbas Rievallensis. Twysden, x. Scriptt. Dugd. Mon. Angl., v. 274, 286, 369; vi. 207; Baronage, 590.

[3] v. 6482.

[4] v. 6.

"of Oxford."[1] He was archdeacon in the early part of the twelfth century, and acted as the King's justiciar at Winchester and at Peterborough in 1125. He was succeeded in the archdeaconry by Robert Foliot in 1151,[2] and we may therefore suppose died in that year. If this book was the same as that of which the loan is acknowledged by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and described by him as "quendam Britannici sermonis librum "vetustissimum, qui a Bruto primo Rege Bri-"tonum usque ad Cadwaladrum filium Cadwalonis, "actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris "orationibus proponebat;"[3] as it was translated by him for his *Historia Regum Britanniæ*, it could only have been used by Gaimar for the purpose of testing Geoffrey's accuracy of translation and supplying omissions made by him, but his acknowledgment of his indebtedness[4] certainly means more than this, and I think his words imply that the *bon livere de Oxeford* was not Welsh.

Geoffrey of Monmouth says that the owner of the book "ex Britannia advexit."[5] Mr. Bradley thinks this means Brittany, but Geoffrey uses Armorica for Brittany and Britannia for Britain, and I see no reason for considering it as anything more than a Welsh book from Wales.[6] It is true that *Advehо* generally implies importation by sea, but, even if the word was confined to this use in classical Latin, an argument could hardly be founded on the precise meaning of the word.

3. Another book of which Gaimar gives the name is the History of Winchester.[7] What this was he tells us himself, viz., a volume of history, or rather annals, com-

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[1] Dict. of Nat. Biog., viii. 249.

[2] Le Neve's Fasti Ecc. Ang., ii. 64.

[3] Geoffrey of Monmouth (Caxton Soc.), i. 1.

[4] . . . . . fes i mist ke li Waleis ourent leisse, v. 6461.

[5] Geoffrey of Monmouth (Caxton Soc.), 228.

[6] On the other hand, Geoffrey of Monmouth certainly used *Gualenses* for Welsh sometimes.

[7] vv. 2234, 2334, 6467, 3451.

piled by Ælfred's orders from information furnished by monks and canons in various parts of England, and chained up like a church Bible in Winchester Cathedral. This cannot be the volume known as the *Annales Wintoniæ*, now in the British Museum,[1] which is of later date, and in Latin, nor is any copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which has come down to us known to have belonged to Winchester Cathedral, but we may fairly assume that *lestorie de Wincestre* was the copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which Gaimar used, and which, as we shall show,[2] did not exactly tally with any which we now possess.

4. The English book of Washingborough.[3] Here I can only repeat Petrie's note. "Nothing has occurred " to identify the book here noticed." Washingborough is about three miles east of Lincoln, and was granted to Peterborough Abbey by Wulfhere of Mercia in A.D. 664,[4] and in Domesday book is said to be held by the King.[5] Kirkstead Abbey, of which Gaimar's friends the Fitz Gilberts were benefactors, also had property there, by the gift of Conan, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond.

This may account for Gaimar's having access to the book, but gives us no further clue as to what the book might be or who its owner was. It has been suggested that it might have been Ælfred's translation of Orosius, and I have no better suggestion to offer, unless, judging from the connexion between Washingborough and Peterborough,[6] it was a copy of the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle such as Bodl. MS. Laud., 636, the chronology of which Gaimar often follows.

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[1] MS. Cott. Domit. A. viii. Edited by Rev. H. R. Luard in Annales Monastici, vol. ii. (Rolls Series).

[2] See p. xxiii.

[3] v. 6469.

[4] Kemble, Dipl. Sax., 984.

[5] Domesday, 337 b.

[6] Dugd., v. 422.

5. Gildas is also cited[1] in the commencement of the story of Haveloc, but there is no passage in the *De Excidio Britanniæ* or indeed in the *Epistola Gildæ*, the only works of his which have come down to the present time, which in any way refers to the kingdoms of Adelbrit and Edelsie. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions another book by Gildas, called *De Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, which is not extant, and Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of his having written and destroyed *libros egregios de Gestis Arthuri et gentis suæ*.[2] Besides this, Geoffrey of Monmouth, as well as Geoffrey Gaimar, quotes him "for "information of which no trace exists in any copy with "which we are acquainted." So that we must suppose that some unknown work of Gildas passed through Gaimar's hands. Geoffrey of Monmouth sometimes confuses Gildas and Nennius, but the present story does not occur in either writer,[3] so that Nennius cannot be intended here.

There are other terms used by the author to describe his sources.

La geste,[4] sometimes with the addition of the adjectives *vereie* or *veille*, clearly always means the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that is, the facts which are referred to it are to be found in the Chronicles. This same authority is also called *Croniz*[5] and *Cronicle*, though in one place[6] Gaimar's confusion between Oswald and Alfwold might lead to the surmise that some other source was meant.

This is not invariably true of the phrase *lestorie, veraie estorie*,[7] &c., which is applied also to the original of Haveloc, that is, to some lost work of Gildas; to the account of Eadmund's martyrdom, here clearly distin-

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[1] v. 41.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, vi. 209. (Rolls Ed.)

[3] See Stevenson's edition of Gildas, pp. ix–xv.

[4] vv. 828, 2233, 2527.

[5] vv. 954, 2110, 2331.

[6] v. 2110.

[7] vv. 758, 1949, 2255, 2335, 2930, 3937, 5712.

guished by Gaimar from his principal authorities; and to the story of Eadward's murder at Corfe Gate.

Le livere, li livere ancien[1], and *li ancienz*[2] also evidently mean the Chronicle.

The phrase *lantive gent*[3] is perhaps used rather for tradition than for written authority.

Mi Meistre[4] certainly does not mean the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but some French book.

Li bref,[5] which is adduced as vouching for the burial of Oswald's head with St. Cuthbert at Durham, must be some biography of the latter saint, or account of his translation.

The Chronicle mentions only the preservation of Oswald's hands, but a narrative of the translation of S. Cuthbert to a new tomb in A.D. 1054, preserved in a M.S. of the eleventh century, speaks of finding the head of St. Oswald and bones of St. Aidan with the saint's corpse *ut in antiquis libris legitur*,[6] one of which *antiqui libri* no doubt Gaimar had seen. William of Malmesbury also bears testimony to the same fact.[7]

Another saint's life used by Gaimar is that of St. Guthlac, perhaps the life by Felix, his contemporary.[8]

Use of the A. S. Chron.

For the period before the Norman Conquest, Gaimar certainly depended mainly for his facts upon a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but occasionally he gives stories and versions of stories which are not to be found there.

If our identification of Ralf Fitz Gilbert be right, Gaimar must have lived in Lincolnshire, and from his patron's friendship with Walter Espec have had special

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[1] vv. 990, 3238.
[2] vv. 1682, 1786.
[3] v. 2405.
[4] v. 3241.
[5] v. 1296.
[6] Acta Sanctorum, ix. 138 f.
[7] Caput Oswaldi Regis et Martyris inter brachia ejus (sc. Cuthberti) inventum. Gesta Pont., Lib. iii., § 134, Rolls Ed.
[8] v. 1637. Printed in Acta Sanctorum, 11 Apr.

means of acquiring information concerning events connected with the Northern and Eastern parts of the kingdom. We find, accordingly, that his additions to and amplifications of the bare words of the Chronicle, more often refer to these localities than to other districts.

The Lay of Haveloc, with which Gaimar almost commences his history, has been the subject of an English lay, as well as of the two French ones printed here. It tells us of a Danish king's son, brought up as a scullion, and founding a kingdom in the east of England. As a story, it contains many elements of interest, but as it is scarcely historical, and has been so thoroughly discussed by Sir Frederick Madden,[1] and more recently by Mr. H. L. D. Ward,[2] there is no need to do more here than refer the reader to the writings of these high authorities.

The brief mention in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the Northumbrians expelling their king Osbryht, and the death of his successor at York, is expanded into a long and interesting story, not without a touch of the supernatural, in which the Danes are invited to invade Northumbria by a thane to avenge his wife's dishonour.[3] The *motif* is common enough, and a similar story is told with different names, the king being Ælla and the thane Aernulfus. This occurs in a MS. of the early part of the thirteenth century, and is printed in Vol. I., p. 328.

The foot-notes to the translation will show how closely the Chronicle has generally been followed, and will also point out certain mistranslations and other errors, which can only be explained by assuming that Gaimar mis-

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[1] Havelock the Dane, Roxburgh Club, 1828.

[2] Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum, pp. 423, 940.

[3] vv. 2595–2836.

understood his original.[1] In this he was not alone, even Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Fthelwerdus, though English by birth, makes such mistakes as translating "gefuhton wiþ Gerente" "bellum gesserunt contra "Uuthgirete regem."[2]

Whether the Chronicle used by Gaimar was any which we now have is uncertain. To show the difficulty of determining such a point, it may be noticed that Gaimar puts the death of Cenwulf, King of the Mercians, seven years after Ecgbryht's raid in West Wales.[3] Of the six texts of the A. S. Chronicle printed by Thorpe only two afford a basis for such a statement. Tiberius B.I. (called by Josselyn, Chronicon Abbendonie) gives the dates as 812 and 819, and Domitian A. VIII. 815 and 822, while all the others allow only six years, viz., from 813 to 819.

On the other hand, the fleet which arrived at Southampton in A.D. 837[4] had according to Gaimar 33 ships. This is the reading of all the MSS., *except* Tiberius B.I., which Gaimar follows in the passage referred to above. Domitian A. VIII. omits the event. The death of Sihtric again[5] is only mentioned in Tiberius B. IV., while Laud. MS. 636 and Domitian A. VIII. are followed in the omission of all occurrences between A.D. 893 and A.D. 901. Both these manuscripts are ascribed to the twelfth century, and cannot therefore be much earlier than Gaimar's own time. The Bodleian MS. is supposed to have belonged to Peterborough Abbey.

The probability therefore is that the copy used was different to any now extant.

It may be worth while to note here a few specimens of Gaimar's additions to or differences from the Chronicle, as throwing some light on his historical value.

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[1] See pp. 64, 75, 76, 97, 98, nn.

[2] Mon. Brit., p. 507 B.

[3] v. 2239.

[4] v. 2397.

[5] v. 3505.

A writer of history in verse, a Trouvère, is often tempted to enlarge and expand his facts merely from his artistic sense and desire to produce a certain effect. This tendency can be clearly seen to have operated strongly on Geoffrey Gaimar, and suspicion is thus thrown on all his additions to the bare record of the Chronicle. Titles and epithets are inserted freely, even at random. Sigbald, for instance, is only called "uns "riches home del pais[2]" to rhyme with "oscis," though the description is very possibly correct. Henry of Huntingdon, a prose writer, in this instance sins worse than Gaimar, for he says that Sigbald was killed in the beginning of the battle between Ine and Nun, and Geraint, though the Chronicle only says the same year.

Similarly the praise applied to Quenburh,

> "Tant se penat de faire honur,
> Ke unc en cel tens, en la contree
> U ele fu, nout tant amee."[2]

and to Hunferth,

> "De clergie fud mult bon mestre,
> Unc plus sage nestuet estre,"

sound suspiciously like stock phrases, and the suspicions are confirmed on finding that "Karl," that is Charles the Great, is called "King of Cumberland" merely, as far as one can judge, because Eardwulf King of Northumbria occurs close by.[3]

The *victory* of the Welsh over Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, in A.D. 753,[4] must, we fear, be ascribed to the same cause. Neither the A. S. Chronicle, the "Annales Cambriæ," nor the "Brut y Tywysogion" mention it. Florence of Worcester, on the contrary, has embellished the simple words (gefeaht wiþ Wealas) in another sense, writing "ex eis quam plurimos inter-"fecit." In some cases these fanciful additions are

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[1] vv. 1634, .
[2] v. 1680.
[3] v. 2228.
[4] v. 1804.

clearly wrong. According to Gaimar,[1] King Sihtric who died in A.D. 926, was slain by King Eadward in revenge for the death of his brother Niel five years before; and even the detail of the weapon being a sword is added. Unfortunately Eadward died before Sihtric, according to the A. S. Chronicle, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

That Æthelred should be crowned at Winchester, as Eadward was afterwards, was natural enough, but though Gaimar adds the detail that the ceremony was performed before St. Vincent's altar, it is probably a mere guess of his, as the A. S. Chronicle distinctly says that "Æthelred was hallowed King at Kingston."[3] I am informed by the Dean of Winchester that nothing is known of the altar so precisely named, nor was there any church in Winchester dedicated to St. Vincent.

There are other additions of a similar kind which may possibly be true, but in many cases there is no conclusive evidence on the point.

The burial of Cynewulf's kinsman at Defurel[4] is mentioned nowhere else. The description of the serpents in Sussex changing colour and singing is not preserved in writing, but according to the editor of the "Monumenta Britannica,"[5] "they seem to be still remembered "in the popular traditions of the western parts of Sussex," so that these wonders are not perhaps solely the fruit of "the poet's eye."

The comet of A.D. 678[6] is not supposed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have any connexion with St. Wilfrith's banishment, though it happened the same year. That the comet followed him is evidently another version of the story told by Eadmer of the saint's jailers being

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[1] v. 3505.
[2] v. 4030.
[3] Aº 979.
[4] v. 1919.
[5] p. 788, n. l.
[6] v. 1450.

alarmed at seeing a light shining in his prison during the night.[1]

The martyrdom of St. Eadmund, King of the East Angles,[2] is told at much greater length than in any other historian. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not even mention, though Henry of Huntingdon does, that the King was tied to a tree and shot. The source from which Gaimar obtained his account of the King's equivocal answer to the Danes is not known. It does not appear in any printed life of St. Eadmund,[3] but may have been current in the country.

The story of Eadgar's marriage with Ælfthrythe is also told at much greater length, the bare fact only being mentioned by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In this case Gaimar mentions, not, alas, by name, his authority—

> Mes tant vus di, cum dit lestorie,
> Richesce i out e grant baldorie.[4]

This *estorie* seems to have extended to the next King's reign, for the murder of King Eadward, Eadgar's son, in A.D. 978,[5] is also narrated with much detail. The incident of the King's anger with Wulstanet the dwarf is peculiar to Gaimar, but the memory of it remains in tradition. Hearne supposed Wulstanet to be the original of Tom Thumb.[6] Other writers ascribe the King's visit to his desire to see his brother.[7] This is an obvious explanation, and therefore the probability is that Gaimar is here preserving a genuine tradition. The discovery of the King's remains in the marsh where it was concealed, by a ray of light falling on them, is narrated in the Hagiography, though not in the Chronicles.

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[1] Acta S.S., xii. 306.

[2] v. 2877.

[3] v. 3937.

[4] Acta SS.; Life by Abbo, Migne, Patrol. Cursus, vol. 139; Life by Osbert de Clare, Tit. A. viii. 83; Capgrave, Nova Legenda, f. 107.

[5] v. 3990.

[6] Reliquiæ Hearnianæ, p. 822.

[7] See Acta SS., viii. 643; Capgrave, Nova Legenda, f. 116.

The account of the Danish ravages in France in A.D. 879 and the following years[1] is compiled from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and some French source. The movements of the Danish army from Cirencester to Chippenham and East Anglia come from the Chronicle, with the exception of the name of Gurmunt, which here appears to represent Guthorm, whose baptism is mentioned just before. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he "abode in East Anglia," but Gaimar makes him lead his army across the channel, confusing Guthorm and Guaramundus, who, the French accounts tell us, was leader of the heathen host.[2] In speaking of Guthorm's death, however, Gaimar calls him by his right name,[3] though he wrongly states that he was buried at Thetford instead of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, where his tomb is still shown. The plundering of the abbeys of St. Valeri and St. Riquier in A.D. 881 is mentioned only by French writers.[4] The fatal wound of King Louis[5] was not received in battle, as Gaimar implies, but from being crushed by his horse against an archway when in pursuit of a young lady, *quia juvenis erat*.[6]

The arrival of the fleet at Chezy[7] formed part of a campaign several years afterwards,[8] but the whole story is told by Gaimar in a very confused manner, and not directly taken from any single authority which we have at present. It is not necessary to unravel the tangle here, but the reader who wishes to do so should consult M. Depping's "Expéditions Maritimes des Normands,"[9] a clear but not very detailed narrative of the ravages of the Northmen on both sides of the Channel.

Another fact relating to Normandy from an unknown source is Æthelred's crossing the sea on the occasion of

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[1] vv. 3262–3316.
[2] Dom Bouquet, viii. 273.
[3] v. 3381.
[4] Annales Vedast., Dom Bouquet, viij. 81.
[5] v. 3291.
[6] Annales Vedast., p. 82.
[7] v. 3262.
[8] See A. S. Chr., 887.
[9] Livre ii., ch. 5, 6, ed. 1843.

his marriage with Emma, daughter of Duke Richard.[1] No French chronicles refer to it, nor do they mention the extent of her dowry.[2] The former statement was probably only another of the *Trouvère's* embellishments, but the latter must surely have been grounded on common report. The account of the same King's brother Edmund, who made war on him with the help of his father-in-law, a Welsh King, is very puzzling. An Eadmund Ætheling, who doubtless was Æthelred's brother, died some years before, and was buried at Romsey,[3] but there is nothing in the Welsh Chronicles or English either to connect him with Wales or to explain this passage.

Lappenberg, indeed, pointed out[4] a passage in the history of Theoderic the Monk of Drontheim, about S. Olaf reconciling Æthelred to his brothers, which might seem to refer to the same event;[5] but as the next sentence speaks of Æthelred being driven into perpetual exile by Cnut, its authority is clearly not of much weight.

Gaimar mentions this shadowy Edmund again as helping his nephew Eadmund Ironside and being buried at Hereford.[6] Nothing, however, is known about him at the cathedral there, whose Saxon saint is Ethelbert of East Anglia. Mr. Woodward, too, in referring to this Edmund, speaks of "Gaimar's unsupported asser-" tion," and evidently does not believe it.[7]

The fortunes of Eadmund's sons[8] when driven from their native country are also told at great length, and there is no earlier account extant on which the story is based. It is not altogether accurate, as Cnut was hardly five

[1] v. 4125.

[2] Wincestre en drurie li donat, Rogingham e Rotelant, v. 4138. Rockingham was part of the dowry of the Queen in later times.

[3] A. S. Ch., 972 (970).

[4] England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, 150, n., 3.

[5] Reconciliavit Adalredum fratribus suis et ut in Regem sublimaretur, obtinuit. Langebek, Rer. Danic. Scriptores, v. 323.

[6] v. 4218.

[7] Hist. of Wales, 204.

[8] v. 4566.

and twenty when he became King of England, and could not therefore have had two sons ruling in Denmark.[1] His son Sweyn did succeed him there eventually, and hence the mistake. But the main difference between the accounts of Gaimar and Florence is that the latter says that the children were sent away to be killed, while Gaimar says that they were carried off by a friend to save their lives. Foreign writers [2] know of their sojourn in Hungary and Russia, but not of the previous circumstances.

The death of Cenwulf of Mercia at Basingwerk [3] is a statement the source of which is not known, but the burial of Swegen at York, [4] though not in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, is confirmed by, or derived from, Simeon of Durham,[5] who wrote some years earlier than Gaimar, and also in a measure by the *Encomium Emmæ*,[6] when narrating the embarcation of the Danish king's corpse for his last voyage across the North Sea.

The sharers of Alfred's victories over the Danes, Ceolmer, Chude, and Chilman,[7] are probably not fictitious names, though we cannot verify them. Chude may be either Hudda or Tudda, both of which names occur as witnesses of charters of Æthelwulf,[8] and Chilman, Ceolmund, or Cialmund. Both an abbot and a thane of this name are found in connexion with King Alfred.[9]

The description of the infernal machine which caused the death of Eadmund Ironside is peculiar to Gaimar. Henry of Huntingdon [10] speaks of Eadric's son as the murderer, while William of Malmesbury [11] is more vague.

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[1] v. 4566.

[2] Steenstrup, Normannerne, iii. 305, quoted in Dict. of Nat. Biog., vol. ix., p. 3.

[3] v. 2239.

[4] v. 4162.

[5] Gesta Regum, ii. 146. (Rolls ed.)

[6] Assumpto corpore Sveini Regis sua in patria sepulti. Duchesne, Hist. Norm. Script., 167.

[7] v. 3168.

[8] Kemble, ii. 18, 35.

[9] Kemble, ii. 96, 122.

[10] p. 186, Rolls ed.

[11] Gesta Regum, i. p. 217, Rolls ed.

The punishment of Eadric by Cnut in person is also an additional fact; and the detail of holding the victim's forelock while his head is severed is interesting. In the north of Europe until the last century, when executions were performed with a sword on a criminal seated in a chair, the head was held in this way, as may be seen in contemporary engravings. I should be inclined to respect Gaimar's authority here. There is an air of truth about his narrative. He knew that a Dane used an axe, for instance. Besides, in the story about Cnut and the waves, Henry of Huntingdon places the scene "in littore maris," [1] while Gaimar describes it as happening on the banks of the Thames near Westminster Abbey. I think everyone will agree that the latter version is more likely to be correct. Huntingdon's phrase is a natural amplification for any one to make in re-telling the story if no place was specified to him, and the waves of the sea are more impressive than the tide of the river, so that I think there can be no doubt that Gaimar's version is founded on fact. About this period Gaimar becomes much more minute in his narration, as in the account of the duel between Cnut and Eadmund, where the equipment of the champions is catalogued.[2] The *chauces de fer* is an anachronism due to the poet's imagination, as the Hon. H. A. Dillon, one of our best authorities on armour, has pointed out. In the middle of the next century, Gaimar's own time, they became

[1] p. 189.

[2] The A. S. Chr. and Florence speak only of a meeting. The Encomium Emmæ and William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, 217), of a combat refused by Cnut, while Henry of Huntingdon and Ailred of Rievaulx (Twysden, 363) speak of the fight as begun, the latter adding evidently imaginary details. In the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, New Series, vol. v., p. 169, there is a paper on the subject by Mr. Hogg, in which the author does not sufficiently discriminate between the different value of the authorities he quotes. See also a note by Mr. Earle in his edition of the A. S. Chr., p. 340.

common, but in the Bayeux tapestry only a few of the most important personages among the Normans, as William and Odo, and none of the English, wear such armour on their legs, and sixty years before that they were probably unknown. The speeches of Marleswain, Siward, and the earls at the Witenagemote which restored the banished Godwine are likewise, no doubt, imaginative,[1] like the speech of Waltheof in Orderic;[2] but like the *chauces de fer* just mentioned they show us what might be the course of procedure in such cases in the poet's own time. The presence of *li quens Lewine* (Earl Leofwine) betrays the historical inaccuracy. It must be meant for the father of Earl Leofric, who had been dead some time.

The account of Earl Tostig's piratical descents on the kingdom of his brother Harold in 1066[3] is slightly different to that of any other writer. The names of Wardstane and Brunemue as places which were harried by his men are in Gaimar only, but Simeon of Durham[4] agrees with him in giving Fulford as the "campstede" where Tostig defeated Edwin and Morkere, both historians being connected with the northern parts of England and therefore perhaps using a common authority. That Gaimar drew information from a northern source is clear also from his insertion of the comet of A.D. 1067[5] as being visible in Northumberland. It is not mentioned by writers in other parts of England, nor indeed by Simeon.

Battle of Hastings.

The Battle of Hastings is but briefly narrated by Gaimar, with the exception of the picturesque incident of the commencement of the combat by Taillefer, on which the poet dwells at considerable length.

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[1] vv. 4940, et seqq.
[2] Prevost's ed., ii. 261.
[3] vv. 5160 et seqq.
[4] p. 180.
[5] v. 5371.

Wace tells us that as the Minstrel Knight rode forth from the Norman ranks he sang

" De Karlemaine et de Rollant
E d' Oliver e des vassals
Ki morurent en Renchevals."[1]

but says nothing of his juggling performance.

A French Chronicle in the Barberini Library at Rome says that "Talifer avant que les Cheveyntayngnes " des batayllies fussent venus, jowa deuant le rey de " Engleterre ou deus espees que il geta ca e la. E " cum tuz fussent de cel iu enpoweri, il tuwa celuy " que porta la baner le rey de Engleterre; autre feiz " fist il ceo, e a la terce feiz fust il tuwe limemes."[2]

The only other writers[3] who do mention this say that it was his sword which he threw up and caught, and not his lance, as Gaimar says. Wace, however, speaks of him as killing an enemy with his lance before he used his sword, and certainly in the Bayeux Tapestry the Norman horsemen, except William and Odo, all appear to be armed with a lance at the beginning of the combat, so that Gaimar is more likely to be right than wrong.

Reign of William I.

In the whole reign of William I. it is the occurrences which concern the north and east of the kingdom which seem most familiar to Gaimar. He mentions indeed, *tout court*, that the Conqueror revisited Normandy in A.D. 1067, but the other events recorded are the comet which was seen specially in Northumberland;[4] William's journey north in A.D. 1067, where Gaimar magnifies the giving up of the keys of the city and hostages by the men of York[5] into a treacherous capture by the Conqueror;[6] the

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[1] v. 13162.

[2] There is a copy of this Chronicle among the Rymer Transcripts, vol. clviii., pt. 2, p. 193.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon and the Carmen de Bello Hastingensi, ascribed to Guy of Amiens. The latter should have been added to the note in vol. ii., p. 167.

[4] v. 5360.

[5] Orderic (Le Prévost), ii. 185.

[6] vv. 5380–5404.

Danish invasion and the taking of York in A.D. 1069; the story of Hereward; William's visit to Scotland; and the revolt of Ralf, Earl of Norfolk and Roger, Earl of Hereford and Waltheof. The invasion by Harold's sons[1] is evidently supposed by Gaimar to have been in the north, and not in Somerset, as he treats it as the immediate prelude to the taking of York, either that by Eadgar Ætheling in Jan. 1069, or the later and more striking success of Waltheof and the Danes in September of the same year.

Durham Castle[2] was not built, according to Simeon, immediately after the insurrection in Yorkshire, but after the King's return from his expedition in Scotland in 1072, which Gaimar mentions later.[3]

In his account of the invasion by Asbiorn and his nephews, Gaimar quite omits the southern part, the unsuccessful attacks on Dover and Sandwich,[4] following in this respect his usual authority, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with which Florence[5] also agrees.

He also speaks of the murder of Bishop Walchere at Durham as if it had occurred during the Danish invasion, and not some years afterwards, placing it before the meeting of Morkere and Ægelwine at Ely, and William's expedition to Scotland, which in truth preceded it.

But the incident in William I.'s reign which more than all stirs Gaimar's muse is the gallant defence of the Isle of Ely by Hereward and his subsequent exploits as an outlaw. The historical aspect of the legend has been so thoroughly discussed by Mr. Freeman,[6] that Hereward.

[1] v. 5405. For the third brother, Magnus, mentioned by Florence of Worcester, Gaimar substitutes Tostig, son of Sweyn.

[2] v. 5425.

[3] v. 5711.

[4] Ord. Vit. (Prevost), ii. 191.

[5] v. 5438. It should be "the "peasants came to join them," evidently taken from the phrase in the A. S. Chr., 1070, "þe land fole "comen him ongean, and griðedon "wiþ hine."

[6] Norman Conquest, iv. 804.

there is no need to insist here upon the inconsistencies and impossibilities which render it so difficult to separate the true from the false.

In addition to the brief notice in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Latin *Gesta Herwardi*, which professes to have been compiled from an English life written by Hereward's priest, Leofric, and which, as we gather from the *Liber Eliensis*, was compiled by Richard, a monk of Ely, has been the source from which nearly all subsequent writers [1] have derived their information. This, in some instances, is quite apparent from the words used. Gaimar, however, is quite independent of the *Gesta*. He knows nothing of Hereward till the revolt of Ely, nothing of his parentage, nothing of his first wife, Turfrida, but he tells us, what the *Gesta* does not, of his accompanying William to Maine in 1073, and of his death in England at the hands of the Normans after he had made peace with the Conqueror. The Hyde Chronicle [2] also mentions his violent death, and besides, a feat, not celebrated either by Gaimar or Richard, the capture of a castle by gaining admission to the chapel as a pretended corpse on a bier ready for burial. Another account [3] says that Hugh de Ewermoth,[4] Hereward's son-in-law, who is not mentioned either in the *Gesta* or by Gaimar, was his slayer, but the MS. containing this account is much later and of no independent authority. The writer of the *Gesta* speaks of seeing himself, and of the person to whom he sends his book seeing likewise,[5] some of Hereward's companions, probably in extreme old age, crippled by the brutality of Norman punishments. In 1139 [6] there was a hermit

[1] Liber Eliensis, the pseudo Ingulf, John of Brompton, Simeon of Durham, Ralf de Diceto, Waverley Annals, the Book of Hyde, John of Peterborough, Hugo Candidus. The last two no doubt had Peterborough traditions to rely upon.

[2] Rolls ed., p. 295.

[3] Cott. Ch., xiii. 9.

[4] A benefactor of Bec Abbey. Tanner, Not. Mon., 268.

[5] vol. i., p. 340.

[6] Dugd., Mon. Angl., v. 418; Harl. Ch., 51 C. 1.

living in Leicestershire of the same name (Outi) as one of Hereward's comrades. There is nothing to show that he is the same man, but it is not impossible, and if so, he may well have been Gaimar's informant. Living so near the time, it is remarkable that the writer of the *Gesta* should have been ignorant of how his hero met his death, unless, indeed, he simply used the material left by Leofric, who may, of course, have died before Hereward. Out of seven names of Hereward's companions given by Gaimar, five also occur in the *Gesta*.[1] It is worth noticing here that the way the names are recounted by the writer of the *Gesta* is some confirmation of the truth of the statement in his preface about the sources of his work. It is quite clear that the names have been copied from two separate lists, in which some names are repeated, and the compiler has not taken the trouble to notice this, and to omit those which he had already written down.

William Rufus.

In the reign of William II., as in that of his father, it is only a few of the most striking incidents that are mentioned, and even for these, although so near his own time, Gaimar was, as he tells us himself,[2] indebted to written testimony as well as to what he heard from old people with whom he came in contact.

The principal events which he records are William's war in Le Maine, the conspiracy of Robert of Mowbray, and the King's death in the New Forest.

The campaign in Le Maine is told very briefly. The "crossing the sea"[3] was in November 1097, but the next two lines, according to Orderic,[4] cover a period of seven months, it being June before the army marched from Alençon. Nor did the King tarry till he took the city, but raised the siege in July, and a month later returned and entered Le Mans, not as a successful

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[1] pp. 371, 373.
[2] v. 5712.
[3] v. 5784.
[4] vol. iv., p. 45.

besieger, but in consequence of a peaceful agreement with Fulk, Count of Anjou. The subsequent recapture of the town, which brought William back across the Channel, took place in the summer of 1099, and though it is possible that Geoffrey Martel may have been with the army, it was not he, but Helias de la Flèche, who was in command of it. Geoffrey, who was betrothed to Helias' daughter, had been put in command of Le Mans by his father, Fulk le Réchin, Count of Anjou, during the captivity of Helias the previous year.[1] This may have been in Gaimar's mind when he wrote this line. Orderic does not mention Geoffrey's presence on either occasion. Gaimar also differs from Orderic[2] in saying that the news of the capture of Le Mans came to William at Brockenhurst, instead of at Clarendon. The places are about 20 miles apart, and the discrepancy is easily explained by supposing that the King's head-quarters during his hunting expedition were at Clarendon, but that the news was brought to him while away from home and camping out in the Forest. Matthew Paris[3] in one of his two versions mentions the Forest, but in the other ignores it, and rather implies that the scene took place in the palace, adding, in direct contradiction to Gaimar, that the messenger would not wait until the King's meal was ended.

William's landing place after his adventurous journey is said by Gaimar to have been Barfleur; in which Wace follows him. This port was constantly used by the Anglo-Norman Kings, and therefore, no doubt, inserted by the two poets, but the credit of Orderic's account[4] of the King's arrival at the mouth of the Touques and his ride on the curé's mare to Bonneville sur Touques is in no way impaired by this disagreement.

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[1] Mabillon, Vetera Analecta, 313.

[2] vol. iv. 58.

[3] Chron. Maj., ii. 111; Hist. Angl., i. 166.

[4] iv. 58.

The interview between William and his prisoner Helias is also put out of its proper place. It took place in Aug. 1098.[1] So far from the King giving back Le Mans to Helias, it was only taken by him a year after by force, and the poet is not much truer to character than to fact. William of Malmesbury's explanation of the King letting Helias go, that he was *præ furore extra se positus*, is far more consistent with Rufus' temper than that he

"prent a rire,
Par bel amur et nient par ire." [2]

And Orderic's epithet of *turgidus rex* does not connote good humour. Gaimar, again, says nothing of Helias' offer to serve the King, and the only speech put into his mouth is more in the nature of a threat. Wace follows Gaimar in his false chronology, and in the main in his account of the interview, though the Whitsuntide Court at the new Hall at Westminster, which Gaimar describes at such length, is also postdated a year. The real date was A.D. 1099, just before the King's victorious campaign in Le Maine. It is impossible to say whence Gaimar derives his amusing details of what took place there, and the dispute between the Kings of Wales and the Normans as to carrying the swords, and he does not mention what, though only resting on a single testimony, is probably true, that Eadgar, King of Scotland, bore one of the swords.[3] Nor, being a Norman, is there any echo in his verses of the complaint of the oppressed English, who had to minister to the pride and luxury of a tyrannical King.

The revolt of Robert of Mowbray really preceded the events which in Gaimar's verse it succeeds, Bamburgh being taken in November 1095. The new castle [4] men-

[1] Ord. Vit., iv. 51.

[2] v. 5943.

[3] Annales Wintoniæ in Annales Monastici, ii. 40.

[4] v. 6150.

tioned as being built by the King must be the Malvoisin which he erected to overawe the defenders of Bamburgh, and must not be confused with the new castle, which was taken by the King early in the campaign.[1] Mowbray's flight by sea to Tynemouth is a detail not given elsewhere. There are two versions of his subsequent fate, that he died in imprisonment, and that he became a monk in St. Albans, and Gaimar clearly supports the former.

In connexion with the death of the Red King, Gaimar mentions two circumstances of which other historians know little. The first is the *Gab* of Walter Tirel and the King, which is introduced as suggesting some motive for the subsequent tragedy. Walter begins by magnifying the King's power, and then chaffing him for making no use of it. The King replies at once by more *Gab*, that he is going to lead an army to the Alps and keep Christmas at Poictiers. The fact was that the Count of Poictiers was going to mortgage his county to him for the expenses of the crusade,[2] and the visit might therefore have been one of peace, but Tirel took it, as the King no doubt meant him to, as a threat of war, and Gaimar hints, determined on his death.

There had already been a plot to murder the King in a similar way five years before.[3]

The King's death is minutely described as happening in the sight of his companions, who said that the arrow which struck him came from Walter's bow. Instead of fleeing at once, as other accounts say, the hunters give the dying King some grass as a substitute for the sacrament[4]

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[1] Freeman, Will. II., ii. 46.

[2] W. Malms. Gesta Regum, ii. 510.

[3] Freeman, Will. II., ii. 45.

[4] Benvenuto Cellini tells us that the same thing was done to him when knocked over by a shot during the siege of Rome. On coming to, he says, "volendo cominciare a par-" lare, non potevo, perche certi " sciocchi soldatelli, mi avevano " piena la bocca di terra, parendo " loro con quella di avermi dato " la communione." Vita di B. Cellini in Classici Italiani, vol. 142, p. 123.

which he demands, and bitterly bewail his loss.[1] The corpse is carried to Winchester, not in a common cart covered with dirty cloths,[2] but on a carefully constructed bier suspended between two horses and covered with the new cloak of one of his servants. The corpse is watched by a Bishop Walkelin and buried with due pomp, instead of being hurried into the ground with less ceremony than would have accompanied the funeral of the poorest person.[3]

The presence of Walkelin is clearly an error, as he was already dead, but that mistake alone is scarcely enough to discredit the whole story, if for other reasons it were credible, but, as Mr. Freeman says, "it is absolutely impossible to believe it in the teeth of opposite "statements of so much higher authority."[4]

The story is of a piece with Gaimar's entire conception of William's character. He extols his *magnanimitas* and his prodigal liberality to his immediate circle of followers, and in some cases to his enemies of the higher ranks, but says not a word of his many vices.

Many of the notes to the translation, as well as what is said in this preface, are based on the works of previous editors of Geffrei Gaimar, and on the writings of historians who have treated of this period, more especially Lappenberg's "England under the Anglo-"Saxon Kings," and Freeman's Histories of the Norman Conquest, and of the reign of William II. It has been impossible to acknowledge in a footnote to every sentence the source whence the information therein was derived, but none the less I am conscious of and wish

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[1] Orderic tells us the kind of folk who acted thus: Stipendiarii milites, et nebulones ac vulgaria scorta.

[2] Orderic, iv. 89; W. Malms. Gesta Regum, Lib. iv. § 333.

[3] Ord. Vit., iv. 90.

[4] Will. II., ii. 660.

to acknowledge my obligations to previous workers in the same field, as well as to my official colleagues and other friends for ready assistance whenever requested.

For the list of books and for the index I am indebted to my daughter, Miss M. T. Martin.

Dec. 1888. C. T. M.

List of Books referring to Gaimar and Havelock.

Monumenta Historica Britannica, pp. 91, 764; Publications of the Caxton Society, Vol. II.; Church Historians of England, Vol. II., part II., p. xxi. 729; Michel's Chroniques Anglo Normandes, Vol. I.; Michel's Rapports sur les anciens Monumens de la littérature et de l'histoire de la France, I., 44, 194, 244; Roquefort's De l'Etat de la Poésie Françoise, pp. 68, 82-4; Duval, Histoire Littéraire de la France, xiii. 63, xviii. pp. 731, 738; De La Rue, Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, iii. 104, 120; Frère, Manuel de Bibliographie Normande; Vienna, Jahrbücher der Literatur, Vol. lxxvi., p. 266; Gentleman's Magazine, 1857. Vol. II., p. 21; Archæologia, Vol. XII., pp. 307–312; Freeman's Norman Conquest, IV. 485, 486, 806, V. 99, 581, 824; William II., II. 660; Parker's Early History of Oxford (Oxford Historical Society), pp. 123, 126, 161, 180, 325; Johann Vising, Étude sur le Dialecte Anglo-Normand du xii. siècle; Lappenberg's England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings; Pluquet's Mémoire sur les Trouvères Normands in Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, I., 375 n., 414–6.; Ritson, Ancient English Metrical Romances, I. 36, 40, 43, 88; Woodward's History of Wales, 200, 204; Madden's Havelock the Dane, Roxburgh Club; The Lay of Havelock the Dane. Edited by Rev. W. Skeat for the Early English Text Society; Le Lai d'Havelok le Danois. Edited by F. Michel; H. L. D. Ward's Catalogue of Romances in the MSS. Department of the British Museum, pp. 423, 496, 940; Romania, IX. 480; Kupferschmidt, "Die Havelok-Sage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhalten "zum lai d'Havelok;" Ludorff, Ueber die Sprache des Alten Englischen Lay, "Havelock the Dane," 4; Sir T. D. Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. II. 86, 245, III. 241, 300, 362.

ERRATA.

Vol. I., p. 1, *for* "I" *read* "[C] I."
„ v. 27, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ v. 532, and note, *for* "Argentele" *read* "Argentelete."
„ v. 556, *after* "ruant" *dele* comma.
„ vv. 798–800, add inverted commas.
„ v. 822, *dele* comma *after* "Laltre."
„ v. 1076, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ v. 1211, *for* "Le" *read* "Li."
„ v. 1224, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ v. 1400, *for* "vallees" *read* "valees."
„ v. 1640, *dele* fullstop.
„ v. 1778, n., *for* "mestre" *read* "estre."
„ v. 2117, n., *for* "Colesdeburch" *read* "Colesdeburc."
„ v. 2532, *after* "fiz," *dele* comma.
„ v. 2671, *for* "e" *read* "le."
„ v. 2893–4, add inverted commas.
„ v. 4282, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ v. 4598, *dele* fullstop.
„ v. 4599, *for* comma *substitute* fullstop.
„ v. 5575, text and translation, *after* "Alueriz" *dele* comma.
„ v. 5580, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ v. 5661, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ v. 5715, *dele* fullstop.
„ v. 6320, the numbers of the verses in the margin are wrong from this point to p. 277.
„ p. 280, v. 46, add fullstop.
„ p. 281, v. 72, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ „ v. 79, add fullstop.
„ p. 285, v. 180, n., *for* "tresqual" *read* "tresquen."
„ „ v. 190, add fullstop.
„ „ v. 191, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ p. 289, v. 280, *dele* comma.
„ p. 290, v. 6, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ „ v. 7, *for* comma *substitute* fullstop.
„ p. 297, v. 288, *for* fullstop *substitute* comma.
„ p. 314, v. 908, add fullstop.
„ p. 322, *for* "370" *read* "369."
„ p. 376, l. 20, *for* "ipsis" *read* "ipsius."
Vol. II., v. 556, *for* "Havelock" *read* "Haveloc."
„ v. 1258, n., *for* "534" *read* "634."
„ v. 1260, n., *for* "564" *read* "634."
„ v. 1296, *for* "book" *read* "writing."
„ p. 65, *for* "2500" *read* "2005."

Vol. II., v. 2117, *for* "Coldesdeburch" *read* "Colesdeburc."
„ v. 2387, *for* "who chased Offa" *read* "whom Offa drove out."
„ v. 4265, *for* "steel" *read* "iron."
„ p. 155, *for* "5895" *read* "4895."
„ v. 5408, n., *for* "Swegen III." *read* "Swegen II."
„ „ *for* "1046" *read* "1048."
„ v. 5438, *for* "against" *read* "to join."
„ v. 6140, this verse is, I think, corrupt. *Malmis, Maumis,* may mean *mutilated* (*cæcatus et extesticulatus*), which, according to William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, II., 501), was his fate.
„ v. 6191, *for* "kingdom" *read* "land."

HERE BEGINNETH

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH

ACCORDING TO

THE TRANSLATION OF

MASTER GEOFFREY GAIMAR.

HERETOFORE in the former book,
If you remember it,
You have heard how perfectly
Constantine held the dominion after Arthur;
And how Iwain was made king
Of Murray and of Lothian.
But afterwards he fared right ill.
All their best kindred died,
And the Saxons spread themselves,
Who had come with Cerdic,
From the Humber as far as Caithness.
Modred the king had given it to them,
So they seized, and wholly occupied
The land which once Hengist held.
This they claimed as their heritage,
For Hengist was of their lineage.

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1. M. Vising suggests that the former book means Wace's Brut, but Wace does not say that Muref and Loeneis were given to Iwain, but Scotland (Brut, ii. 226). Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix. 9) says that Mureif was given to Urien, Iwain's father, and "Loudonesia" to Lot his brother.

U 51689. Wt. 5925. A

Behold the occasion,
By which the Britons came into great trouble,
So did the Scots and Picts,
The Welsh and the Cymri.
Such war the outlandish folk made,
Britain came to great grief.
The English every day increased,
For they often came from over sea.
Those from Saxony and Almain
Joined their company
For the sake of Dan Hengist, their ancestor,
The others made them lords.
Every-day as they conquered
From the English, they explored the land.

Here Britain lost its name and was called England.

The land which they went on conquering,
They called it England.
Behold a cause
By which Britain lost its name.
And the nephews of Arthur reigned,
Who warred against the English.

But the Danes hated them much,
Because of their kindred, who had died
In the battles which Arthur fought
Against Modret, whom he afterwards slew.
If that is true that Gildas said
In the Geste, he found written
That there were two kings formerly in Britain
When Constantine was chief.
This Constantine was the nephew of Arthur,
Who had the sword Caliburc.

King Adelbrit Norfolk.

One of the kings had for his name Adelbrit.
He was a rich man, also he was a Dane.

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35. By the nephews of Arthur, Gaimar probably means Aurelius Conan, nephew of Constantine, and Vortiporius. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. xi. caps. 5 and 6; Brut, v. 13,740.

47. The names Adelbrit and Edelsi do not occur in Gildas.

The other had for his name Edelsie.
His were Lincoln and Lindsey.
From the Humber to Rutland
The land was under his command.
The other was king of the country,
Which is now called Norfolk.
These two kings were so united,
That they were sworn companions,
And between them two was such love
That Edelsi gave his sister
To Adelbrit, that rich king,
Who was of the lineage of the Danes.
The other king was a Briton,
Who had the name of Edelsi,
His sister was named Orwain.
Very noble was she, and bountiful.
By her lord she had a daughter,
Whom they called Argentille.
The maid grew and throve,
For her nurse was sufficient for her.
So it came to pass, in all truth,
That her father had no other heir.
In the kingdom of Denmark
He had four rich earldoms,
And in Britain he had conquered
Cair Coel with all the country.
From Colchester as far as Holland
His kingdom extended in the hands of one holder.
As long as he was so powerful.
Edelsi was his good friend,
But then it happened that Adelbrit died
In the city of Thetford.
He was carried to Colchester,
There was this king buried.

King Edelsie. Lincoln and Lindsey.

Queen Orwain.

The daughter Argentille.

Adelbrict the King dies.

74. Colchester.

And Orewain and Argentille,
That is his queen and his daughter,
Went away to Lindsey
To her brother, king Edelsie.
The kingdom that Adelbrict held
They delivered to him, that it might be guarded,
For the queen was sick,
Nor did she live twenty days more
After Albrict. When she came to her end
They buried the queen,
And Argentille was brought up
At Lincoln and in Lindsey.
As old folk say,
She had no near kinsman
On the side of her father, of the Danes.
Hear what this felon king did,
For the inheritance which he coveted
He mismarried his niece.
He gave her to a lad,
This Cuheran was Haveloc. Who was named Cuheran.
Because he wished to abase her
He bethought himself that he would give her to him.
THIS Cuheran was a cook,
But he was a very handsome youth.
A fine face he had and beautiful hands,
His body was graceful, sweet and smooth,
His countenance was always cheerful,
Good legs he had and good feet.
But because he was bold,
And willingly fought,
There was no groom in the house.
If he played with him,
And began to hustle him,
That he did not upset him with his legs in the air.
And if he was very angry,
He tied him with his belt,

And if the other had no protection,
He would beat him well with a rod.
And yet he was so frank,
If the groom promised him
That for this he would not love him less,
He would instantly untie him.
When they had embraced each other,
Then was Cuharan pleased,
And the king and the knights
Gave him of their meat,
Some gave him cakes,
Some quarters of simnels,
Others gave him pieces of meat and fowl
Which came to them from the kitchens,
So that he had so much food and provision
That he had two servants with him.
And to the servants of the house,
He often gave great gifts
Of simnels and of biscuits,
Of meat and of cakes.
For this he was so well loved,
And so valued and so praised
That there was no freeman in the house,
If Cuheran wished for a gift.
But he would willingly give it him,
But he did not care for gain.
To give whatever he had,
This was his way, at that time,
And when he had nothing to give,
He was ready to go and borrow.
Then he gave it, and spent it.
What he borrowed, he repaid well.
When he had anything he gave it all,
But asked no one for anything.
Thus, he was in the house
Scullion to a cook.

There were two servants whom he kept.
Listen, Lords, why he did so.
He thought they were his brothers,
But his father was not theirs,
Nor his mother, nor his lineage.
Nor was he of their rank.
Although he was of such low estate,
He had come of gentle blood,
And if the King had known it,
I think he would never have had his niece.
Of whom he was born, he did not know,
He made him his juggler.
In order to gain the land of Albricht
He caused his niece to lie with him;
The daughter of the king in a poor bed.
Now it is needed that God should help,
For the king has done great cruelty
For covetousness of this kingdom,
Since, to have the kingdom for himself.
He disgraced his niece, as he hoped,
And gave her to his cook,
Who was named Cuheran.
He did not know what woman was,
Nor what he ought to do.
Directly he came to bed,
He lay on his face and went to sleep.
Argentille was in great thought,
Why he lay so on his face,
And wondered much
That he never turned towards her
And would not approach her,
As a man should do to his wife.
The niece complained to the king;
Often she chid her uncle
That he had so disinherited her,
And given her to such a man;

Until it happened on a night,
That they for the first time took their pleasure
together.
After that they fell asleep
Much they loved each other and rejoiced.

THE king's daughter, in her sleep
Dreamt that she was with Cuherant
Between the sea and a thicket,
Haunted by a savage bear.
Towards the sea she saw come
Pigs and boars, eager to attack
This great bear, which was so fierce,
That it wanted to devour Cuheran.
With the bear were many foxes,
Who had been in danger since day.
For the boars attacked them;
Destroyed and killed many of them.
When the foxes were destroyed,
A single boar, fierce and bold,
Attacked this bear, who was making such noise,
Alone, body to body,
And struck it with its tusk
So that he cut its heart in two. Argentille's dream.

WHEN the bear found himself wounded to death
It gave a cry, then lay still,
And the foxes came running
From all sides towards Cuherant;
Their tails between their legs
Their heads bowed, and on their knees,
They made show of begging mercy
Of Cuheran on whom they had made war.
When he had made them all rise,
He wished to go towards the sea.
The great trees that were in the wood,
Saluted him on all sides.
The sea rose and the waves came.

So that he could not keep in the wood.
The wood fell, the sea came,
Cuheran was in a great strait.
Then came two lions.
They fell upon their knees,
But they killed many of the beasts
In the wood, who were in their way.
Cuherant, for fear which he had,
Climbed on one of the great trees
And the lions came on
Towards the tree, kneeling.
Through all the wood was such a great cry
That the lady awoke,
And, as she had had such a dream,
Hugged her lord tight.
She found him lying on his back.
Between her arms she held him close.
For fear she opened her eyes.
She saw a flame which issued
Forth from her husband's mouth
Who was still fast asleep.
She marvelled at the sight,
At her husband's mouth,
And at the flame which she saw.
Now hearken what she said:
"SIR," said she," you are on fire,
" Wake, if it please you
" From your mouth there comes a flame.
I know not who put it there,"
So she embraced him and drew him to her,
That he woke and said, " Why,
" Why have you woke me, sweet love,
" Why are you frightened"?
Much he prayed her, much he coaxed her
That she told him all, declared to him
About the flame, and the vision
Which she had seen of her husband.

Cuheran replied,
Of the vision which he heard from her,
According to his wit, he explained the dream,
Though he said, all was deceit.
" Lady," he said, " this will be well.
" Both for your good, and for mine.
" This then is my opinion, what this can be;
" The king will hold his feast to-morrow;
" Many of his barons will be there.
" Stags, and roes, and venison,
" And other meat there will be so much,
" And in the kitchen so much will remain,
" We will take so much in serving,
" I will make the squires plenty
" Of good bacon and brawn,
" From the barons' dishes.
" The squires are obliging to me
" Both at evening and morning.
" This is what the foxes mean,
" Of which you dreamt; this is what they are.
" And the bear is dead; he was killed yesterday;
" He was taken wild in a wood.
" Two bulls there are for the lions,
" And for the sea, we take the caldrons
" Where the water rises as a sea,
" Until cold makes it cease.
" The flesh of bulls will be cooked in it.
" Lady, the vision is told."
ARGENTILLE, when she heard this, said
" Yet tell me more, Sir.
" How that fire can be explained
" Which I saw burning in your mouth?"
" Lady," he said " I know not what it should be,
" But sleeping it escaped me.
" While I sleep, it seizes my mouth.
" I feel nothing of the flame.

" Truly I am much ashamed of it,
" That it happens to me while I sleep."
Said Argentille, " In my opinion,
" We are here in dishonour,
" Better were we in exile
" Amongst strangers, and worse off,
" Than to dwell here in such shame.
" Love, where is thy family?"
" Lady," he said, " at Grimsby.
" Thence I departed when I came here.
" If I find not my kindred there,
" Under Heaven I know not whence I was born.
" LOVE,' she said, " then let us go thither,
" To see if we shall ever find them there.
" No man but I [ever] loved thee
" Or gave us better counsel."
Said Cuheran, " My love,
" Be it wisdom, or be it folly,
" I will do what you wish.
" I will take you there if you think fit."
They lay all night, until clear day.
On the morrow they go to their lord:
They came to the king, they asked leave,
When he heard it, he was glad,
All laughing he gave it them,
To all his men he joked about it,
And said " If they are a little hungry,
" On the third day, or to-morrow,
" They will set themselves to return,
" When they can do nothing better."
Now they go to Grimsby.
There they find a good friend.
A fisher he was, he lived there.
He had for his wife the daughter of Grim.
WHEN he recognised the three young men
Cuheran and the two sons of Grim,

And he knew about the king's daughter
- - - - in the law
- - - in his courage
He said to his wife, who was very wise,
"Wife," said he, "what shall we do?
" If you think fit, we will discover,
" To Haveloc, the king's son,
" Our counsel, and the secret.
" Let us tell him quite openly,
" Of whom he was born and of what people."
Said the wife, "If he knew it,
" I think he would discover it,
" By his folly in such a place,
" That great harm would soon come to him from it.
" He is not so wise
" As to know how to hide his ambition.
" If he knew that he was sprung from kings
" For a short time would it be concealed,
" And still, let us call him now,
" Let us ask him of whom he is born,
" And let his wife come with him.
" We can well tell him I think,
" Of whom he was born, and of what country,
" And how he was exiled by war,"

THEREUPON they called Haveloc,
And Argentille came with him,
And the good man and his wife
Began to question him right well.
"Friend," they said, "of whom were you born,
" In what place are thy kinsfolk?"
" Lady," he said, "I left here
" My kin, when I departed hence:
" Thou art my sister, I am thy brother,
" Both by father and by mother.
" Grim was my father, a fisherman,
" My mother was named Sebrug, his wife.

" When they died, I left this place,
" I took with me my two brothers.
" Now we are grown up, we have come back,
" But we do not recognise our kinsfolk,
" Only thee, and thy husband,
" I know well thou art our sister."
Kelloc replied, " All here is otherwise.
" Never did thy father sell salt,
" Nor was thy mother a salter.
" Grim sold salt, and was a fisherman.
" For my brothers I thank thee much.
" For having brought them up, I will repay you.
" Yesterday arrived beside the port
" A great ship good and strong.
" Bread and flesh she brought, and wine and corn,
" Of these they have great plenty.
" Over the sea they mean to go,
" If you will go with them
" I think they will go to the country
" Where your kin is and your friends,
" If you will go with them
" We can well commend them to you.
" Cloth we will give you to trade with.
" Also you shall take of our money,
" And bread, and flesh, and good clear wine
" To take at evening and morning.
" Provision you shall have as much as you want,
" You shall take your two servants with you,
" But keep well your secret.
" You were the son of a good king.
" He had Denmark for his inheritance,
" So had his father and his ancestry.
" Your father was named Gunter,
" He took to wife the daughter of king Gaifer,

403. Neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Wace mentions such a name of a Danish king whom Arthur conquered.

" Alvive was her name: She reared me.
" Well she cared for me while she lived.
" She brought me up. So said my mother,
" I was the daughter of Grim, a companion of hers.
" But it happened in your land,
" That king Arthur came to conquer it,
" For his tribute, which they withheld from him,
" With many men he came to the land,
" To king Gunter he seemed an enemy,
" Near the sea he gave him battle,
" Slain was king Gunter,
" And many knights on both sides.
" The land gave what Arthur would.
" But the queen, because of the war,
" Could not remain in the land,
" So she fled with the right heir.
" You are he, as I believe
" Dan Haveloc, the king's son.
" My father had a right good ship,
" He took the queen quietly away,
" Towards this country he brought her,
" When it happened, as God willed,
" That we were met by outlaws,
" Into the sea were hurled all
" Our knights and our folk,
" And the Queen also.
" No man was saved but my father,
" And no woman was saved but my mother.
" My father was known to them,
" Therefore the children were saved,
" I, and you and my two brothers,
" By my father's prayer.
" When we came to this country,
" We cut our great ship in two,
" For it was all broken, and damaged,
" When the queen was killed.

" Of our ship we made a house;
" By a boat we got our living,
" In which our father went to fish.
" Fish had we to eat.
" Turbot, salmon and mullet,
" Whale, porpoises and mackarel,
" In great plenty; and in abundance
" We had bread and good fish.
" The fish we exchanged for bread,
" Men brought us in plenty.
" And when we had money,
" My father then became a salter.
" While he lived, he and my mother
" Nourished you well, better than my brother.
" And I remained and took a husband.
" He has kept me in great honour.
" He was a merchant, he knew how to cross the sea.
" He knows well how to buy and sell.
" In Denmark was he the other day,
" And heard many pray,
" That if he found you, you should come,
" And claim the land.
" Truly we counsel you to go.
" Take your two lads with you,
" Let them be with you to serve you.
" If good befal you, send us word,
" We will follow, if you will,
" If God gives you back your inheritance."
SAID Haveloc and his wife.
" We will give you a right good recompence,
" We will do more than you ask,
" If God gives us back our inheritance,
" And the lads we will take with us,
" By God we will think well of it."
The lady replied: " Truly,
" Here you will remain till you have a wind:

" And if I can, before you go,
" You shall be clad in better clothes."
They remained then, tarrying there,
They were clothed honourably.
They tarried there until the wind came,
And then they went on board the ship,
And Dan Alger, the merchant,
Made the bargain for them.
He gave them garments, he and Kelloc.
For Haveloc's crew
He stowed away enough victual for them,
He would not have it fail for three months.
Bread and wine and flesh and good fish,
He put in their ship in great plenty.
Directly the ship was afloat,
The steersman was right busy.
Two ships there were, in truth.
They spread their sails to the wind;
So far have they floated and steered,
That they have arrived in Denmark.
In the country at which they landed,
They went to a town,
There they sought horses and carts,
And caused their belongings to be carried thither.
The merchants all returned,
With their tackle, to the two ships,
And Haveloc and his wife,
Went to the town to lodge.
THERE dwelled a rich man,
Sigar Estalre was his name,
Steward was he to king Gunter,
And justice of his land.
But now it was so that he kept himself quiet,
And he hated this rich king greatly,

506. Steallere, A. S. for steward.

Who then was a powerful king
Over the other folk in this land,
On account of his lord, who was dead,
By the power of Arthur the strong ;
Whom he had by treason sent for,
And had given him this country.
Because he was treacherous and cruel,
Many took counsel together,
That they should never hold with him,
Nor take land of him,
Until they knew of the right heir,
The truth about his life or death.
This king who then was in the country,
Was the brother of king Aschis
Who met his death for Arthur
Where Modred did him such wrong,
His name was Odulf the king;
Much was he hated by his Danes.
As God willed, and chance,
God set his (Sigar's) thoughts on Haveloc,
For the sake of his wife, who was so beautiful,
The king's daughter dame Argentele,
- - - -
Six youths then attacked him,
They took the lady, they struck him,
And abused his servants much.
And in many places broke their heads.
When they were going off with his lady,
Dan Haveloc was enraged,
He took a right sharp axe,
Which he found hanging in a house,
He caught in the lane the men
Who were carrying off Dame Argentele.

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524. Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him Aschillius, king of Dacia. Book xi. cap. 2.

Three of them he struck down, two of them he killed,
And the sixth, he cut off his hand.
He took his wife, he went to the inn.
Behold, a great cry, of crime.
He took his servants and his wife
And entered a minster,
He shut the doors, for fear,
Then they went up into the tower.
Then he had such a defence
That he never would be taken without great trouble.
For they defended themselves right well,
Wounded were those who attacked them.
When Dan Sigar came spurring.
He saw how Dan Havelock kept throwing
The stones, being very strong.
He had killed the five rascals,
Sigar saw it, and took counsel with himself.
Then he remembered king Gunter.
Directly he had recognised him,
He no longer hated him for his men.
He was so like his lord
That when he saw him he took such pity on him
That with great difficulty could he speak.
He made all the assault to cease,
Peace and truce he promised him,
To his hall he led him,
Him and his wife and his companions,
The two lads whom I spoke of before.
And when they were safe
The great man asked him
Who he was and what was his name,
And whence were his companions,
And of his lady he asked him,
Whence she came and who gave her to him.
" Sir," said he, "I know not who I am,
" In this country I think I was born,

" A mariner whose name is Grim
" Brought me thence a little lad.
" To Lindsey he would go.
" When we were on the high sea,
" We were attacked by outlaws,
" By whom I was so ill-treated.
" My mother was there, she was killed.
" I was saved, I know not how,
" And the good man escaped,
" Who reared me and loved me much.
" He and his wife reared me,
" And well they reared and cherished me.
" When they were dead, I departed.
" I served a king, where I went,
" And two lads were with me,
" As long as I was with the king.
" I was long with him in my youth,
" And this lady was one of his kin.
" As it pleased him he gave her to me,
" And we were married.
" Then I came to this country,
" And I know none of my friends,
" And I do not know in truth
" If I have one single kinsman.
" But by the advice of a merchant
" (He lives at Grimesby,
" A right good man he is, his name is Alger)
" He advised me, and his wife,
" To come here and seek my friends,
" And my kinsfolk in this land.
" But I cannot name one,
" Nor do I know how I can find them."
Said the good man : " What is thy name ?"
" Sir, I know not," replied he,
" But when I was in the great court,
" They called me Cuherant,

" And although I was a servant
" I know well that Haveloc was my name.
" At Grimesby the other day
" Alger called me Haveloc.
" Now I am here, which you wish
" Of these two names you shall call me by."
SIGAR stood, and listened,
Well he remembered the king's son,
And this name of which he spoke.
The son of Gunter had the same name.
Then he remembered another way,
That he saw long ago, by means of the nurse,
Of the flame which issued
From his mouth when he was sleeping.
That night he had him well watched
Where he lay by his wife.
Because he was very weary
With the fight, and the thoughts
Which he had had the day before,
He fell asleep, and asked no one's [leave].
Directly he was asleep
From his mouth came forth the flame,
And the servants who watched him
Soon told their master.
And the goodman rose from his bed,
When he came there, he saw the flame,
Then knew he well that it was true,
That he had thought of him,
But so dear he had this thought
He never would tell it to his wife.
Until the morrow, when he rose.
Then he sent for his men,
He ordered his knights,
His footmen and pioneers,
From all sides many came.
When he had assembled many of them,

Then he went to speak to Haveloc.
He had him bathed and fed.
With new raiment he clothed him.
Into the hall he made him come.
When he had entered the hall
Where he saw so many men assembled,
Great fear had he that this folk
Would do evil justice on him:
For the five men he had killed,
He thought they had assembled.
He went to take an axe
Which a young man there held.
He tried to seize it to defend himself.
Sigar saw him and caused him to be taken.
As they held him on all sides
Sigar said to him, "Fear not,
" Have no care, my friend,
" Truly I swear to you, I declare to you,
" That I love you now more than I did yesterday,
" When I placed you at my table."
Then he gave him a seat by his side.
He had the horn of the king brought.
This was the horn of King Gunter;
Under heaven was no knight
Who could sound that horn,
No hunter, no youth,
So that any one could ever hear the horn sound,
Unless the king or his rightful heir did it.
The rightful heir of Denmark
Could sound it well, truly,
But no other man ever sounded it;
All to no purpose laboured at it.
This horn had Sigar kept,
King Gunter had entrusted it to him.
When he had it, he could not sound it.
He caused it to be given to a knight,

" Let him blow it, so that it sounds,
" So that I know, hearing it,
" I will give him a good ring,
" Which at need is worth a castle;
" He who hath it on his finger,
" If he fall in the sea, shall not drown;
" No fire can hurt him at all,
" Nor can any weapon wound him;
" Such as I say is this ring."
Then the company came to blow the horn,
The knights and the servants;
It would not sound at all,
Never for any of them would it sound.
Then they gave it to the youth,
Whom they called the prisoner,
Whose name was Haveloc.
When he held it, he looked at it,
And said that he had never blown a horn.
He said to the lord, "I will let it be,
" As no other man can sound it,
" I give up all claim to your ring,
" As so many youths have tried it."
Sigar answered, "No, you will do it;
" Put it to your mouth."
"Sir," said he, "I do not refuse this to you;
" By me it shall be now tried."
Then he took the horn, and crossed it,
At his mouth he tried it;
Directly it touched his mouth
The horn sounded, as properly
As ever his father was erst heard [to sound it];
No man could blow a horn so well.
Sigar heard it; he leapt to his feet,
With his arms he embraced him.

708. This is the reading of D.

Then he cried: "God be praised,
" Now have I found my rightful lord,
" Now have I him whom I desired,
" For whom I will wage war.
" This is the rightful heir, and the person
" Who ought henceforth to wear the crown."
He then sent for all his people;
Then they did fealty.
He himself kneeled down
And promised to keep faith with him.
Then he sent for the barons
With whom this king had strife.
All became his men
And received him as their lord.

When they had done this, they assembled men;
In four days they had many hundreds,
And on the fifth day, of knights
They had well thirty thousand.
Then they defied King Edulf;
In a plain they encountered.
Many great strokes were struck;
King Edulf was then conquered.
For Haveloc bore himself so
That he alone killed more than twenty.
There were two princes in the country,
Who once were his enemies,
And held with Edulf;
Now they came to his mercy.
The small folk of the country
Came for mercy likewise,
And Haveloc gave them pardon
By the advice of his barons.
All swore fealty to him,
The knights of the kingdom,
And the goodmen and the burgesses,
Made him their lord and king.

They held great feast and rejoicing,
As the true history tells us.
AFTERWARDS he called together all his ships,
All the power of his kingdom.
With his great host he passed the sea,
Then he defied King Edelsi.
He sent him word that he defied him
Unless he gave up to him his lady's right.
King Edelsi replied to him
That he would fight against him.
They fought in a plain
From morn till eve.
Many men were disabled
On both sides, and struck dead,
When black night separated them
Until the morrow, when day broke.
But by counsel of the queen,
Who taught him a trick,
By which he recovered the loss of the battle,
He gained his kingdom without more opposition.
All night he had stakes fixed in the earth,
Bigger and higher than barrels;
The dead men were fixed upon them,
And all night they set them up.
Two companies they made of them,
Who truly looked
As if they were fighting men, and alive.
The day before they had been killed.
Men who looked at them afar off,
All their flesh shuddered.
Both from far and near
Hideous appeared these unshriven corpses.

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780. A similar expedient is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus as practised by Fridlevus, king of Denmark. Lib. IV. (St.)

THE next day they prepared again,
And set themselves in order for battle;
The scouts went in front
To see Dan Cuherant's men;
When they saw that he had so many,
All their flesh shuddered at it;
For against one man that they had,
They saw seven on the other side;
Back they came to tell the king,
"It is no use fighting,
" Give up to the lady her right,
" And make peace before it be worse."
The king could not help it,
Therefore he determined to grant this,
For so the barons advised him.
All the kingdom was given up to him (Haveloc),
From Holland to Colchester,
There King Haveloc held his feast.
The homage of his barons
He received through all his countries.
Then after this, not fifteen days,
Did king Edelsis live.
He had no such rightful heir
As Haveloc and his wife.
He had children but they were dead.
The barons willingly granted
That Haveloc and his friends
Should have king Edelsi's land.
So then he had it. Twenty years was he king.
Much he conquered by means of the Danes.

THEN from the nativity [of Christ]
Nearly full five hundred years had passed,

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809. *quinz* is given as meaning *five* in Roquefort, but *cinc* is used by Gaimar for five. See vv. 558, 659, 820, 821.

And there were but five years to tell.
The other Cerdic with his ship
Arrived at Charford,
A mound which is still visible.
There arrived he and his son,
Whom the English called Cynric.
Horsa and Hengist were their ancestors,
As the true chronicle tells.
He was the son of Elessinc the king.
This Cerdic, so he was English,
And Elessinc was the son of Elese,
- - - - - -
And Elese was the son of Esling,
Esling, the son of Eslage, son of Wising,
Son of Gewis, son of Wigening,
Son of Wilte, brother to Winsing,
Son of Fretewine, son of Freodagaring,
Son of Freodegar, son of Brending,
Son of Brand, son of Beldeging,
Son of Beldeg, born Winhing.
Beldeg was of the lineage of Woden,
Of whose lineage Horsa and Hengist were born.
Of their lineage were born
Those who were called
The West Saxons and the South Saxons,
And the East Saxons and the Middle Saxons.

---

822. The first Cerdic is mentioned in v. 10.

823. Cerdicesora in A.S. Chr. *sub anno* 495.

826. The names are throughout given in the translation either in the ordinary forms used in modern English, or as they occur in Thorpe's translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; but this genealogy is so incorrect, that it is left here as in Gaimar's version, and that in the AS. Chr. appended for comparison: "Cerdic Elesing, Elesa Esling, Esla "Giwising, Giwis Wiging, Wig Freawining, Freawine Freothogaring "Freothogar Branding, Brand Bældæging, Bældæg Wodening." AS. Chr. s.a. 552. It will be noticed that Gaimar does not understand the meaning of the suffix *ing*.

But because Hengist and Horsa
And Cerdic, who after their death
Came to the land,
And often made war there,
Were of this royal lineage,
Those of their nobles,
Born in the country called Ange (England),
Men called them all English.
TWENTY-FOUR years lasted the war
Before Cerdic could conquer
Much from the Britons.
Then was Cirencester besieged,
But by the negligence of the Britons
It was set on fire by sparrows,
Which carried fire and sulphur into the town,
And set light to many houses,
And the besiegers who were outside
Made an assault with great courage.
Then was this city conquered,
And Gloucester was taken.
As far as the Severn they conquered all,
They killed all the best Britons.
And from the sea, to which they came,
As far as the Severn, they took to themselves
All the country and the kingdom,
And they drove out the Britons.

Death of Cerdic.

FIFTEEN years did Cerdic reign.
After his death reigned Cynric.

King Cynric.

He was Cerdic's son; much he warred,
And great countries he took to himself.
The Britons hated him much,
And often showed their enmity.
The other English spread themselves,
And in many places seized kingdoms.

858. AS. Chr. 577.

As the Britons had done before,
Each made himself called king.
From over sea came Saxons,
When they landed they took everything,
And the Britons, in consequence of the war with them,
Determined to leave the good land.
Towards Wales in the west,
Where their other kindred were,
They journeyed and thither they fled.
They defended this country well,
And often assembled a host.
Across the Severn they led their men;
Thus they fought with the English,
With Cynric and the other kings;
Very often they fought together,
And right dear they sold their land.
THE Danes were in Norfolk
From the time that Haveloc was king.
Thus they defended this country,
And that which had belonged to king Edelsis.
But Wasing was of their lineage,
Who often made forays upon them,
For no man would he bend.
Every day he did wrong without redress;
Never would he redress wrong.
He warred often against two kings,
One was named king Burgard,
The other was named Geine the Coward,
Who for fear forsook his land.
The war between them lasted a short time.
Then Cynric, the Englishman, came.
Wasing, the king, warred with him;

900–10. "No trace of these early Danish kings occurs in any history anterior to the time of Gaimar." (Stevenson.)

Both he and his son named Chehulinz.
Long was the strife between them,
Until Wasing was killed.
Cynric, his enemy, killed him;
King Burghard aided them,
And brought in two kings of the Saxons.
Il and Lowine of Gloucester,
Wasling was dead, it could no other be,
There were only two kings of the Saxons.
Thirty years they reigned, then they died.
At Salisbury twice
Fought Cynric, the king,
He and Ceawlin with the Britons,
For daily there was strife between them,
And in their time, when they reigned,
Two quite clear days were benighted,
And after these benighted nights
Ida gained Northumberland.
Know that he was the first king
Of the English line who held it.
This Ida reigned twelve years,
And restored Bamborough.
It was much decayed and ruined
Since Ebrauc built it long ago.
Ida was the son of Cobba, a tyrant,
Who never served God.

---

919. This apparently is a confused reference to Ceawlin of the West Saxons, and Ælle of Northumbria, who each reigned 30 years (A.S. Chr. 560); but Ælle succeeded Ida, whom Gaimar mentions in v. 930.

925. At Old Sarum and Banbury, AS. Chr. 552, 556.

928. The AS. Chr. mentions eclipses of the sun, 15 February 538, and 20 June 540. They are included in the list given in L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.

934. AS. Chr. 547. Geoffrey of Monmouth ascribes the building of Kaer Ebrauc (York), Alclud (Dumbarton), and Mount Agned (Edinburgh), to Ebrauc, but does not mention Bamborough. Lib. II., cap. vii.

937. *Cobba*] Eoppa. AS. Chr. 547.

In the time of Ida, still
Northumberland had its name,
It was called Deira on the east of the Foss,
And Bernicia on the other side.
This king then fought
Against the Britons whom he hated well.
So fiercely he warred against them
That he conquered his land from them.
Greatly was he feared throughout Britain;
For daily his following grew.
Ælle and Ida reigned,
One after the other, thirty years.
SINCE the birth of our Saviour
Dan Jesus Christ our Lord
Five hundred and sixty-five years,
As the chronicles assert,
Æthelberht was made king of Kent,
And of Surrey likewise;
Fifty-three years he held the kingdom,
Christianity and true baptism
The Pope sent him.
He asked it of St. Gregory.
Dan Columba baptised him;
He was a priest whom God loved.
Afterwards he went to the north and dwelled there.
With the Picts he then lived;
The island of Iona was given to him,
And afterwards he was abbot there.
Ninian had formerly baptised
The other Picts of the kingdom;
These are the Westmaringiens
Who then were Picts.

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949. AS. Chr. 560.

955. The punctuation of the MS. from which the text is printed is wrong, the date 565 refers to Æthelberht.

961. Columbanus is mentioned in the AS. Chr. here, but only as going to the Picts.

At Whiterne lies St. Ninian;
He came long before Columba.
FIVE hundred years and sixty-eight
Had passed on that night
When Cutha and Ceawlin, the kings,
Put to flight the Kentishmen.
King Æthelberht was discomfited;
His two barons were killed,
Dead were his two barons,
Oslaf and Cnebba were their names;
This Cutha was the brother of Ceawlin;
He conquered the Britons one morning
At Bedford, there he conquered them.
Three good fortresses then he took from them:
Aylesbury and Bensington,
And then the city of Luitune.
Between Ceawlin and Cutha, his brother,
They wrought misfortunes on the Britons.
At Scorham they killed three kings,
As the ancient books said,
Commail and Condidan,
And Farinmail, a powerful king.
Then they conquered Gloucester,
Also they took Bath and Cirencester.
Ceawlin and Cutha went forward
And sought the Britons where they found them.
They came up with them in the country
Which is called Fethanleag.
The Britons killed Cutha there,
But afterwards they suffered great loss;
They were destroyed and discomfited;
King Ceawlin seized everything,

973. AS. Chr. 568.
983. AS. Chr. 571.
986. *Luitune*] Lugeanburh (Lenbury ?), AS. Chr. 571.
989. *Scorham*] Deorham (Derham), AS. Chr. 577.
998. *Fethan leag*] Thorpe suggests Frethern, A.S. Chr. 584.

Their harness and their cattle,
And their treasure and their manors.
Then died the king of York.
So they made Æthelric king;
Æthelric was king and valiant.
Æthelric was king only five years.
Æthelferth was of the lineage of Ida;
But Dan Ceawlin, Cwichelm, and Crida
Had left this life.
A king of Scots made a crafty attack
(His name was Ægthan) on Æthelferth.
With all his host he fought.
They met at Dawston;
But the Scots were scattered,
And the brother of king Æthelferth,
Theodbald was his name; he was killed.
Hering was the name of him who led them (the Scots);
The people of Scotland fell there.

THEN had the ages lasted
From the birth of Jesus
Six hundred and five years, as we read.
Then Gregory sent
St. Augustin to this land;
He made peace, destroyed war.
Paulinus came thither, as his companion,
With Dan Justus and Mellitus.
They furthered Christianity much;
In many places they baptised folk.

1005. Ælle, AS. Chr. 588.
1009. Æthelfrith, AS. Chr. 593.
1010. AS. Chr. 593.
1013. AS. Chr. 603.
1028. AS. Chr. 604. Bede, Lib. I., cap. 29. Justus was bishop of Rochester 604–624, and Mellitus, bishop of London from 604 till he was expelled in 616, by the sons of Sæberht, who relapsed into Paganism. (Le Neve).

Then was Ceolwulf king of Winchester,
And of Wessex and of Gloucester.
This king loved disputes and strife.
He hasted to make war daily
Either with the English, or the Saxons,
Or the Scotch, or the Britons.
King Eadwine was then king;
He accepted the Christian law.
He was of York. This we know
That he established religion,
And rebuilt a minster
And dedicated it to St. Peter.
This king was of the lineage of Ælla,
Who built a chapel to St. Peter.
A bishop baptised him;
Paulinus was his name. God loved him much.
He brought the pallium
From Rome to Augustine the noble.
To the archbishop Augustine
Was this Paulinus sent.
With him came many companions
To preach.
In many places throughout the kingdom,
Men right soon accepted Christianity,
But it was a long time
Before this was commonly done.
And some of those who accepted it
Often took it up and abandoned it.
Saint Augustine, the good man,
Gave his blessing.

1031. AS. Chr. 597.

1037. Eadwine, King of Northumbria, converted A.D. 601. AS. Chr.

1042. Eadwine built at York a church dedicated to St. Peter, and afterwards rebuilt it in stone. AS. Chr. 627.

1046. Paulinus was consecrated Bishop by Justus, 21 July 625, and became bishop of York when Eadwine founded that see on his baptism. Easter, 627. (Le Neve.)

He ordained two bishops
And properly consecrated these two;
Mellitus one was named,
The other Justus, his companion.
To Mellitus he gave his see.
At London he had his bishopric.
And as to Justus, at Rochester
He was master of Christendom.
Mellitus then at first
Went to preach in Essex.
He preached so well to king Sæberht
That he asked for baptism.
This was a nephew of king Æthelberht,
His sister's son. Openly
He loved God and served Him well.
Ricole was the name of her who bore him,
Sister of the king who held Kent,
Blessed by God, as we know,
And through that king who then held Kent.
St. Augustine came to this country.

King Sæberht.

ÆTHELFRITH was noble and powerful;
Also he was king of Northumberland.
He led a great host to Leicester.
Many Britons he found there,
Then he fought with them.
Many he killed, all he conquered.
Two hundred priests came to pray,
They wished to bury the dead.
These also remained dead on the field,
Not one went away alive.
This king was named Brocmail,
His fifty companions
Fled, like broken men.

1071. AS. Chr. 504.

1083. *Leicester*] Legercyestre, AS. Chr. 606 (605), but Mr. Thorpe translates it Chester.

Who remained was killed.
St. Augustine, by prophecy,
As it is written in his life,
Had said this, and truly foretold:
" All the Britons of this country,
" Who will break the truce,
" Shall perish by the hands of the Saxons."
Thus was his prophecy
Accomplished and fulfilled.
Then died the king of Kent,
Which was loss to many people.
His son reigned, Eadbald,
He quite forsook Christianity.
Fifty three years had reigned
Æthelberht, that precious king.
He had a wife, his son took her,
And the archbishop forbade it.
Laurentius was his name. He wished to flee,
The archbishop, for he had no desire
To consent to the king thus erring,
Or committing such adultery.

St. Peter came and spoke to him,
He commanded him to go to the king,
That he should leave this heresy,
And live well and amend his life.
He turned back happy and joyful;
He talked and preached so well,
That the king took Christianity,
And loved wisdom and honesty.
And when the king was reformed,

1099. " Gif Wealas nellaþ sibbe wiþ us, hi sculan æt Seaxana handa for wurþan." AS. Chr. 606.

" Quia si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum ab hostibus forent accepturi; et si nationi Anglorum noluissent viam vitæ prædicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri." Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 2.

1103. Æthelberht, king of Kent, died A.D. 616. AS. Chr.

1111. AS. Chr. 616. Bede, Lib. ii., caps. 5, 6.

The archbishop was rejoiced at it.
The good Laurentius did not tarry long
Before he died.
Near the tomb of St. Augustine,
They placed him then, as he had commanded,
As he had formerly loved him in life
Then he would keep him company again.

THEN was Mellitus sent for;
They consecrated him as archbishop.
When the people of London lost him,
They forsook Christianity.
[After archbishop Mellitus
Then was Justus chosen.]
The bishop of Rochester
They made master at Canterbury,
And to Romanus they gave the see
Of Rochester and the bishopric.
King Æthelfrith at this time
Was killed, as I believe.
Rædwald killed him, the king of East Anglia.
Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex he had together.
This was the kingdom which he held.
This Rædwald, he had taken it.
And when king Æthelfrith was dead,
Eadwine, the son of Ælla, seized it all.
Then he conquered all Britain.
Some he drove away, some he killed,
Of the noblemen of the land,
As a man who meant to conquer.
But those of Kent kept their right,
And made war with great success.

ÆTHELFRITH was of the lineage of Ida,
So his children had much help.
No man had such right in the land:

1141. AS. Chr. 617.
1148. AS. Chr. 617.

They lost it, they made war for it.
Now I will tell you how were named
The sons of the noble Æthelfrith.
The eldest of all was named Eanfrith,
The second Oswald, a man beloved,
The third they called Oswiu,
The fourth Oswudu, so I tell you,
The fifth was called Oslaf,
The sixth Offa, this was his name.
These joined with the others,
And fought against king Eadwine.
Cwichelm, the king, fought against him.
He tried hard to betray him;
He sent a traitor
To kill him, this he thought to do.
Eomer was the name of this traitor.
Hear how he committed this great dishonour:
Thus did this man of villany.
By night he came into Eadwine's chamber.
With a knife this evil felon
Killed there two noble barons,
And badly wounded king Eadwine.
He afterwards escaped,
Forthhere and Lilla were killed;
They were honourably buried.
A daughter of Eadwine was born that night.
The king promised that she should be brought [to baptism]
According to the covenant which he had made with God,

1161. AS. Chr. 617. There should be seven; Gaimar has omitted Oslac, the fourth son.

1168. According to rule "reis" should be nominative, but the MSS. do not always observe grammatical rules.

1171. AS. Chr. 626 (627).

1184. Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 9. "Þ he wolde his dohter gesyllan Gode." AS. Chr. 626 (627).

If he had vengeance on his enemies,
Who sent this felon against him,
And his friends prayed God for it.

And then when he had promised this,
He led a host against his enemies,
And met with them in Wessex.
He gave battle to them fiercely;
Five kings met their death there,
Of those who had done him wrong.
Then he gave his daughter to God.
Her parents named her Eanfled.
They brought eleven other children with her,
As the king had commanded.
This was done at Pentecost.
Paulinus was master of this ceremony,
And after this, at Easter,
The fonts were blessed.
The king was then baptised,
And confirmed, and crossed,
And with him all those of the country.
This was done at York,
There, where he had formerly given
The place to the rule of St. Peter.
This bishopric belonged to St. Paulinus,
As archbishop he held the see.

King Penda then received as his kingdom
All the realm of Mercia.

1197. "twelfa sum." AS. Chr. 626 (627). "cum undecim aliis de familia ejus." Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 9.

1202. The blessing of the font is mentioned in the Mort d'Arthur in the account of the conversion of Palamides the Saracen, by Tristram. "Then "the suffragan (of Carlisle) let fill a great vessel with water. And when he "had hallowed it, he then confessed clean Sir Palamides, and Sir Tristram "and Sir Galleron were his Godfathers." Book xii., cap. 14.

1204. *primsene*]. To make the sign of the cross. Burguy III., 341. Stevenson (p. 743), translates it "instructed."

1211. AS. Chr. 626 (627).

He fought against two kings
For years and days and several months.
These were Cwichelm and Cynegils.
Many men they drove into exile.
Then it happened that at Cirencester
A battle was to be fought between them.
But then it fell out pleasantly,
For a treaty was made.
After which they did not delay
To assemble all their men;
Their men and their friends,
And all they could in the country,
Marched against Eadwine.
They met him at Hedfelde.
On all sides were many men killed,
And cut to pieces and made prisoners.
It would be bad for me to tell all
How one was eager to kill the other.
But the strokes between them did not cease
Until king Eadwine was dead.
Ceadwalla was the name of him who killed him.
King Penda took his head.
Osfrith his son was left dead.
The men of the North fled,
They pursued them with many men.
They laid waste all Northumberland.
PAULINUS, who was archbishop,
Heard that wrong had vanquished right.
Much it grieved him that the heathen
Had destroyed the Christians.
Thereupon it followed that he fled.
He went to sea to save himself,

1217. AS. Chr. 628.

1226. Heðfelda. AS. Chr. 633. Hæthfelth. Bede, Lib. ii., cap. 20. Identified with hesitation by both Thorpe and the Editor of the Mon. Brit. as Hatfield Chase.

He took the queen with him,
Who was wife of king Eadwine.
Æthelburh was her name truly.
They went by sea as far as Kent.
Eadbald the king received them well.
He honoured Paulinus much and rejoiced.
As he could no longer be archbishop,
He made him bishop at Rochester.
All his life he dwelt there,
And God loved the queen.
Then afterwards the people of Bernicia,
Who were very wealthy,
Made a noble man their king,
The son of Æthelfrith, Eanfrith was his name,
And at this time, the men of York
Made Osric their king,
And the barons of Northumberland
Made the good Oswald their king;
At this time, who will tell the truth,
Cynegils received baptism.
He was the king who held Wessex.
Another king then had it.
At Dorchester he was brought to the font;
A bishop confirmed him.
Birinus was the name of him who baptised him.
King Oswald received him.
And before the year was passed,
Cwichelm was brought to the font.

1252. Paulinus was bishop of Rochester, A.D. 633–644 (Le Neve).
1254. Stevenson translates this v., "The Queen loved God," but *Deus* should be nominative. In vv. 1075, 1409, and 1472, *Deus* is used for the objective case.
1258. AS. Chr. 534.
1260. AS. Chr. 564.
1264. AS. Chr. 635.
1270. "Oswold his onfeng." AS. Chr. 635.
1272. Also at Dorchester. AS. Chr. 636.

EADBALD, king of Kent died.
Twenty-four years he held the land.
Ercenberht was the name of one of his sons.
Him then they chose as king.
He first fasted in Lent.
No English king before observed it thus.
He first observed Easter.
No Englishman before would begin.
He took a wife, Sexburh was her name,
Daughter of king Anna, a noble man.
Ercenberht had a daughter.
She was marvellous beautiful.
Ercongota men called her.
Well she upheld religion.
In this time while these lived,
And well upheld the holy law,
Then was killed a valiant king,
Saint Oswald. Oswald, who held Northumberland.
At Maserfeld Penda slew him
While he was king in his ninth year.
Bardney. He was carried to Bardney ;
His body was honourably buried there.
His head lies on St. Cuthbert,
At Durham, that is, so says the book.
Peterborough. His hand is entire at Burg.
He who keeps it holds it very dear.

1273. AS. Chr. 640.

1274. Two MSS. of the AS. Chr., Bodl. Laud., 636, and Domit. A. viij. read xxiiij. and three others xxv. The former appears, says Thorpe, to have belonged to Peterborough Abbey, and may have been the copy used by Gaimar.

1290. AS. Chr. 642 (641). Thorpe suggests Mirfield as the modern name of Maserfeld.

1297. Bebbanburh, AS. Chr. 642 (641). Bede says the same, "Denique "in Urbe Regia quæ a Regina quondam vocabulo Bebba cognominatur, "(manus cum brachio) loculo inclusæ argenteo in Ecclesia S. Petri "servantur," Lib. iii., cap. 6. It was there in the time of Simeon of Durham, wrapped in a cloak and undecayed (Hist. Regum, *s.a.* 774), but

At this time, of which I tell you,
Kenwealh was chosen king.
The men of Wessex made him king
Thirty-one years over the English.
He began by being a good man.
He built the Minster at Winchester.
Cynegilsing was his surname.
He was of that nobleman's lineage.

After Oswald, Oswiu was king.
He reigned over the Northumbrians
Eight and twenty years, he reigned no less.
He established the laws, he loved peace.
He was brother of Oswald, the king.
Well the Northumbrians supported him.
By him was killed king Oswine,
The son of the uncle of king Eadwine.
He was brother of king Osric.
Their father was named king Edelris.
Oswine was only king seven years.
Then he died, and Aidan,
A very valiant bishop,
Was translated after him.
Between them there was only twelve days.
By the virtue of his holy corpse, the deaf hear.

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according to Capgrave, whom Stevenson quotes, the arm was stolen by a monk of Peterborough, and deposited in that Abbey. (Nova Legenda Angliæ, f 255. b.) The head is minutely described by Simeon in the Vita S. Oswaldi, cap. 51.

1300. AS. Chr. 643 (642).

1307. AS. Chr. 642 (641).

1311. *reis*], though not usually employed as the genitive case, is so sometimes. See vv. 829, 1017, 1073, 1315.

1313. AS. Chr. 650.

1315. According to AS. Chr. 634, Oswine was son of Osric, son of Ælfric, Eadwine's paternal uncle. Edelris is not a correct form for Ælfric. Gaimar was perhaps misled by seeing Æthelfryth in the next line of the Chr.

1318. AS. Chr. 651 (650).

1322. Bede does not mention this miracle.

St. Aidan help us,
And St. Oswald, of whom I have written.

Oswiu, the king, a year after
Killed Penda at Wingfield;
With him were killed thirty-three
Noble men, all king's sons;
And some kings were killed there.
One there was of great renown;
He was of East Anglia, brother of the March lord
Who then held the country.

At this time were numbered
As many ages as were gone,
Five thousand eight hundred and fifty years.
Then Peada received worthy honour.
The men of Mercia made him king,
For he was of the sons of Penda.
Fifty-six years as we reckon,
And six hundred years with measure,
From the incarnation of Jesus,
Until the day that Peada was slain.
They made Wulfhere, son of Peada, king.
And he reigned over the Mercians.
Then was the great battle
At Pen, with hard fighting.
Wulfhere chased the Britons; then
He pursued them as far as Petherton.
This was after he came from East Anglia.
And three years he was kept in exile.
King Penda had driven him out,
Disinherited him, and taken his fief,

1325. AS. Chr. 655 (654).
1331. Æthelhere, brother of Anna, king of the East Angles. AS. Chr. 654.
1336. AS. Chr. 655 (654).
1338. *Wentingeis*], an error for *Pentingeis*, the P being mistaken for an AS. W., as was pointed out by Wright and Stevenson.
1343. AS. Chr. 657 (656).
1347. *Wulfhere*], a mistake for Kenwealh. See AS. Chr. 658.

Because he had forsaken his sister.
He lost his heritage for three years.
Then he fought this other battle,
Near Chester, with king Kenwealh.
This was at Pontesbury,
Where he took much from Wulfhere.
All Ashdown then he took possession of;
He took this country from Wulfhere.
The king Cuthred was of the lineage
Of king Cwichelm; he was wise.
Between him and king Coenbyhrt
They held the whole Isle of Wight.
After the island had been so harried,
King Wulfhere gave it
To Æthelwald, to his godson.
He was king of the South Saxons;
And he had the men of Wight baptised.
By him it began first.
Then the day returned to night.
Also there was a great death,
Such never was before or since that time.
Tuda, the bishop, in my belief,
Died then; this I know for certain
That he was buried at Paggle,
And Ercenberht, king of Kent,
Died then also.
Ecgbriht, his son, took possession of the kingdom.

1356. *Prof de Cestre*]. This is an erroneous translation of "on Eastron," at Easter, AS. Chr. 661.

1357. AS. Chr. 661. Kenwealh's battle was with the Britons, not Wulfhere.

1358–60. Gaimar continues his mistake. The AS. Chr. states that Wulfhere ravaged as far as Ashdown.

1367. AS. Chr. 661.

1371. An eclipse of the sun, 5 non. Mai. 664 according to the AS. Chr., but L'Art de Vérifier gives the date as 1 May.

1376. Wagele, AS. Chr. 664. Thorpe suggests the place is Wayleigh, Bede (Lib. iij., c. 27) says Tuda was buried at Paegnalaech, perhaps Pincanheale, now Finchale in Durham. (Mon. Brit.) Tuda was bishop of Lindisfarne.

Then the archbishop held his synod;
And Colman and his companions
Departed to their possessions.
And Ceadda was then blessed
To be bishop, he and Wilfrith.
This year an archbishop died;
His name was Deus-dedit.
And Vitalianus, the pope,
Made Theodore archbishop.
King Ecgbriht gave to Bass, the priest,
Reculver, but he would not stay there.

Then died Oswiu, the good king.
The Northumbrians made great moan.
They gave the honour to his son Ecgferth.
They made him king and rightful lord.
Theodore then made bishop
The clerk Hlothere, over all Wessex.
DCLXI. Six hundred years and sixty-one
There were, since the Incarnation.
Then the birds fought
In the valleys and the hills,
So many died and were killed,
That it was said there were none alive.
King Kenwealh a year after
Died. His time was no longer.
And then again, in the next year,

1380. The synod of Whitby or Streanaeshalch. Neither Bede (Lib. iii., c. 25), nor Florence of Worcester, mention the presence of archbishop Deusdedit. Archbishop Theodore held a synod at Hertford, A.D. 673 (AS. Chr.), to which, perhaps, Gaimar refers here.

1381. AS. Chr. 664. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, 662–5.

1383. Ceadda, bishop of Lichfield, 669–672.

1384. Wilfrith was ordained bishop at Compiègne, A.D. 664, (Bede, Lib. iii., c. 28).

1390. AS. Chr. 669.

1391. AS. Chr. 670.

1397. A.D. 671, AS. Chr.

1403. AS. Chr. 672.

Seaxburh died, the daughter of Anna.
The third year Ecgbriht died;
And his aunt, St Ætheldryth.
She was a nun, she loved God.
In Ely, near there, is their place.
At this time the West Saxons chose
Æscwine, whose name was Cenfusing.
He was heir, so they made him king.
Wulfhere, with all his Mercians,
Fought with him, he and his people,
At Biedanheafod truly.
Men enough were killed,
King Wulfhere had the worse;
He lost more than he gained.
He had evil counsel when he undertook it.
He did not live more than a year,
And no one followed his orders.

THEN the Mercians made
Æthelred king, with great honour.
He was a wise man, so they chose him,
And there never was such great trouble;
But in this year that he was made king,
With a great host he came into Kent.
Through the country he slew men,
He burnt and spoiled and took great preys.
And in this year died Æscwine;
And Centwine seized all Wessex.
Then appeared a comet, Comet.

1407. AS. Chr. 673. It was another Seaxburh, wife of Ercenbehrt, king of Kent, who was daughter of Anna.
1412. Son of Cenfus, AS. Chr. 674.
1414. AS. Chr. 675.
1416. *Biedanheafod*]. Thorpe suggests Bedwin.
1428. AS. Chr. 676. 1431. AS. Chr. 676.
1433. AS. Chr. 678. The date of this comet, which has been variously given as 676, 677, and 678, is discussed in Pingré's Cométographie, I., 332–3. Relying on certain Chinese observations, he considers it must have appeared in August or September, 676.

A star which prophets,
And clerks learned in astronomy,
When it shows itself, know well
That God makes this sign seen,
That the people may know
That there are some who do none
Of all his commandments;
That his faithful people have not peace among themselves,
That kings are acting contrary to right,
That they oppress their serfs with anger,
That they fail in all well doing.
Therefore this sign was shown.
Three months they saw it clear and bright.
Through all Britain it was seen;
It stretched out like a sunbeam.
When it stretched its longest ray
Wilfrith. It came straight over St. Wilfrith.
Whichever way the archbishop went,
With him the comet turned.
King Ecgferth had driven him away,
And placed two bishops in his see.
Bosa, he set over Deira,
And Eata over Bernicia,
And St. Wilfrith went to Rome.
There he lived as a holy man.
A third bishop they ordained.
Lindsey they gave to him,
Hecce was his name, never before
Did the English there have a bishop.

At that time was killed a nobleman
On the Trent, Ælfwine was his name,

1450. This circumstance is not to be found in the AS. Chr., nor Bede.
1461. *Hecce*] Eadhed, AS. Chr. 678. Bede (Lib. iv., c. 5) mentions Aecca as succeeding Bisi in the bishopric of the East Angles in A.D. 673. Hence perhaps the error. 1464. AS. Chr. 679.

At the battle of two kings,
One was Ecgferth of the Northumbrians,
The other was named Æthelred,
Mercia was his kingdom.
St. Ætheldryth then died.
At that time Coldingham was burnt,
Fire from heaven lighted it,
As it pleased God, it fell there.
Two years after St. Hilda died,
She was abbess of Streanaeshalch (Whitby).
And in that year was the battle
Between the lords of Cornwall
And the Britons, whom Centwine
Made flee to the sea.
Two years after, Ecgferth the king
Sent a host against the Scotch.
They destroyed everything cruelly.
Before them no minster was safe,
They burnt minsters and chapels,
Wives they dishonoured, and maidens.
Five years after, king Ecgferth
Made St. Cuthbert a bishop.
The archbishop Theodore
Blessed this lord
At York. There he consecrated him
To Hexham, thither he sent him,
For there was the chief see
Of all the archbishopric, at that time.
And Trumbyhrt was deposed,

1473. AS. Chr. 680. 1474. A.D. 680. Bede, Lib. v., c. 24.
1475. AS. Chr. 682 (683).
1479. AS. Chr. 684.
1480. *Scotch*], *i.e.*, the Irish. "gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam," Bede, Lib. iv., c. 26.
1485. One year, AS. Chr. 685. Bede gives the same date, Lib. iv., c. 27.
1493. *Trumbyhrt*], D. and L. read Teunibert, evidently a mistake for Trumbyhrt. Wilfrith's deposition, which happened in A.D. 678, had

Who had been archbishop.
King Ecgferth in this year
Was slain by the men of Orkney ;
And very many people died there
Beyond the sea towards the north.
Ecgferth reigned fifteen years in truth.
Afterwards his brother Ealdferth was king.

At this time Eata departed
At Hexham, where they chose
St. John. John. He held the archbishopric
Until Wilfrith returned.
He (Wilfrith) was received as primate ;
And St. John went to Chester.
Bosa, the bishop, was dead.
They sought and chose John.
There was great peace. Then he departed
And left his priest Wilfrith there.
He was consecrated bishop.
And St. John departed
Beverley. To his minster at Beverley.
He served God well, whom he loved much ;
And in his time Ceadwallà waged
A right evil war for his kingdom.
And in that year that he made war
King Hlothere departed.

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nothing to do with Cuthbert's consecration to Hexham, but Trumbyhrt, the previous bishop of Hexham, had been deprived by the Picts, who had revolted from England. AS. Chr. 685.

1496. By the North Sea, AS. Chr. "in angustias inaccessorum mon-" tium," while on a campaign against the Picts. Bede., Lib. iv., c. 26. Simeon of Durham says, "apud Nechtanesmere, quod est stagnum " Nechtani, die xiij. kal. Jun. anno regni sui xv." Hist. Dunelm : Eccl. Lib. i., cap. ix. Mr. Arnold, the latest editor of Simeon, appends a note to this passage that "Dunnichen Hill, near Forfar, and the valley " and the lake to the north of it, are supposed to have been the scene of " this battle."

1506. Ceastre, in the AS. Chr. 685. This means York.

1515. AS. Chr. 686.

1518. AS. Chr. 685.

He was a wise man and a noble king:
He ruled all his days over the Kentish men.

After his death Mul and Ceadwalla
Waged right evil war in Kent.
They burnt, plundered and robbed;
They harried all the Isle of Wight.
After this, in the same year,
The Kentish men caught Mul.
Him and eleven companions
They burnt with fire, as felons.
Ceadwalla was very wroth.
The same year he plundered Kent.
Afterwards he went to Rome,
And the Pope made him a good man.
In a font he baptised him well.
Peter then was he called;
Nor eight days after did he live.
He was buried in the minster.
This was eleven days before May.
Of another king I will speak.
Ine was his name, as I have heard say.
The West Saxons made him their lord.
Thirty-seven years this king reigned,
And then went to Rome.
There he remained all his days,
Until the day of his death.
The archbishop Theodorus
Departed this year, no longer did he live.
And the abbot of Reculver,
Brihtwold, was put in his place.
There were then two kings in Kent.

1527. This is what Gaimar's French must mean. The AS. Chr. says, "xii. men mid him." Anno 687.

1531. AS. Chr. 688.

1545. AS. Chr. 690.

1548. *Brihtwold*]. Gaimar writes Bruthpat, he or his scribe mistaking the Saxon "w" for a "p." AS. Chr. 692.

One was named Wihtred,
The other's name was Swebheard.
Then departed the bishop Gefmund;
And Tobias received his see.
Dryhthelm died, he thanked God.
And the Kentish men gave
Thirty thousand ounces of weighed gold
For the burning they made of Mul.
They paid all this to king Ine;
And the Kentish men, according to law,
Made Wihtred their king.
Thirty years he reigned and held the land;
Well he fought his wars.

DCCIII. THEN it was from the Incarnation,
Seven hundred and four years, as we read,
Æthelred, king of Mercia,
Took the habit of a monk. But Cenred
Reigned after him and held [rule].
Then it fared ill with king Ealdferth.
He was lord of the Northumbrians.
At Driffield this king died.
Osred, his son, reigned after him,
As his father had devised.
A year after the men of Wessex
Made a bishop of the good Aldhelm.

1552. Bishop of Rochester. AS. Chr. 693.

1554. AS. Chr. 693. Dryhthelm was a Northumbrian layman, who apparently died, but reviving, recounted a vision of purgatory, hell, and heaven. He afterwards became a monk at Mailrose, and as part of his austerities consisted in sitting in the water in the winter and letting his clothes freeze on him, no wonder that, as Gaimar says, "Deu gracied," when he died. Bede, Lib. v., c. 12.

1555. AS. Chr. 694.

1561. Thirty-three. AS. Chr. 694.

1565. AS. Chr. 704.

1570. 14 December. AS. Chr. 705.

1574. The date of Aldhlem being made bishop is derived from Bede, Lib. v., c. 18. He died 709. AS. Chr.

Two bishoprics they made of one,
All by counsel of the people.
Daniel had one bishopric,
The other had Aldhelm, who was very good.
After Aldhelm came Forthhere.
With great honour he held the bishopric.
Forthhere held in the west,
And Daniel in the east.
Woods were between them and great forests;
But both were rich.
One is the bishopric of Winchester,
The other should be at Salisbury.
Before this happened,
From beyond the Humber, towards the south,
Came those who slew
Queen Ostrythe; and her cousin,
King Æthelred, was her husband.
Ecgferth was her brother, she his sister.
Beorht was killed by the Picts.
Cenred reigned over the Southhumbrians.
That is Lindsey and Holmedene,
Kesteven and Holland, and Hestdene;
From the Humber to Rutland
Extended this kingdom and beyond.
At many times it was divided.
Such places there were right to the Thames.
The capital of the kingdom used to be
At the city of Dorchester,
And Huntingdon and the county
Used to belong to this kingdom.

1577. Daniel, bishop of Winchester, A.D. 705–744.
1590. AS. Chr. 697.
1593. AS. Chr. 699. Beorht was commander of the expedition to Ireland in 684. See v. 1480.
1594. AS. Chr. 702.
1595. "The description of the Southhumbrian kingdom, which is not to "be found in the Chronicle, seems to show the writer's local knowledge "of Lincolnshire." (Mon. Brit., p. 783.)

Also the city of Grantchester
Once belonged to it, and ought to do so.
One king could well protect it,
If he could hold it in peace.

At this time the Mercians
Made Ceolred lord and king.
King Cenred went to Rome,
And Offa with him, a noble man.
Cenred remained there till the end of his life.
Then he departed by the fate of God.
In this year, know well and see,
Oundle. St. Wilfrith died at Oundle.
Death of Wilfrith. His body was taken to Ripon.
There religion was well observed.
Forty-five years before, as it is written,
He was elected bishop.
This good man, this Wilfrith,
Ecgferth, the king, drove out,
And after him, Acca, his priest
Took his place, to be bishop.
In this year Dan Beorhtfrith
Fought with the Picts,
Between two waters, Heugh and Caraw,
A great and cruel battle.
And Ine and Nunna, his kinsman,
Offered battle to Geraint.
He was a powerful king of Wales.
Of all his right they deprived him.
And Sigbald was killed this year.
He was a rich man of the country.

At this time Guthlac lived,
A man who served the Lord God.

1610. AS. Chr. 709.
1623. AS. Chr. 710 (709).
1627. Heugh and Caraw are suggested by Thorpe.
1635. His death is mentioned here in the AS. Chr. 714 (713).

Who will look at his life
Will find many wonders in it.
It is well I should touch upon it, but I cannot tell all.
Ine and Ceolred made slaughter
At Wansborough in a battle.
A year afterwards, which I say without doubt,
Then was Osred, the king, slain,
Who reigned over the Northumbrians,
In the march towards the South.
He was king seven years, as I think.
Then they made Cenred king.
Two years and half a month he held the kingdom.
Then Osric held it eleven years.
Ceolred, the valiant king of Mercia,
Died this year, as it is related.
At Lichfield was he buried.
And king Æthelred, son of Penda,
The Mercians carried away.
They buried him at Bardney.
They gave Mercia to Æthelbald.
He reigned forty-one years.
He had war enough and great trouble.
A rich man, Ecgberht was his name,
At this time, by good exhortation,
Betook himself to God and to St. Peter.
In orisons and prayer
He continued daily till his death.
He was buried at Mirmartin.

1637. Perhaps the life by Felix, Monk of Jarrow, printed in Acta Sanctorum, ii., 38 (April 11), and elsewhere. (Hardy's Desc. Cat. i., 405.)

1640. AS. Chr. 715 (714).

1642. AS. Chr. 716.

1646. One MS. of the AS. Chr. (Tib. B. iv.) has viij. but the date of his accession is given as A.D. 705, so that *eleven* is the correct number.

1660. AS. Chr. 716.

1664. Mirmartin is perhaps another form of Mirmantun, or Cair Segont, where, according to Nennius (c. 25), Constantius, the father of Con-

Another noble brother of the king, 1665
Ingild was his name, died, as I believe.
He was brother of the good king Ine.
Cuthburh, their sister, was queen.
During her life she founded Wimborne,
And built there a beautiful abbey, 1670
And king Ealdferth married her.
In their life she was separated
From the king, who held Northumberland.
She left him while they were both living;
She valued her chastity so much 1675
That she left all her riches.
Cwenburh was the name of the other sister.
She exerted herself so to do right,
That never in the country,
Where she lived, was any one so loved. 1680

It was then seven hundred and twenty-one years,
As the ancients count,
From the nativity of Christ.
So many ages had then passed,
When Daniel went to Rome, 1685
The bishop whom God loved.
Cynewulf was killed this year,
A king's son (Ætheling), of great worth.
Death of John of Beverley. The good John then died,
He who lies at Beverley, 1690
And Æthelburh rased the work
Which king Ine had built;
At Taunton he had had it built.

---

stantine the Great was buried, and where he sowed three seeds, of gold, silver, and brass, that no poor person might be found in it. The Editors of the Monumenta Britannica identify this place as Silchester, others as near Carnarvon, but one MS. of Nennius adds, "id est Urbs Eboraca." According to the AS. Chr. 729, Ecgberht died in Iona.

1666. AS. Chr. 718 (717).

1685. AS. Chr. 721 (720).

1687. By Ine. AS. Chr. 721 (720).

1691. AS. Chr. 722 (721).

She caused the work to be thrown down.
In the following year 1695
Were many savage wars.
King Wihtred, who held Kent,
Died, as God willed.
Thirty-four years this king reigned.
Well he ruled, he loved his people. 1700
And Ine, king of Wessex,
Warred in Surrey and Sussex,
And killed Ealdbriht, a king's son,
Whom he had driven from his own.
Once he quite disinherited him, 1705
Now he killed him, and put him to death.
And he took many of the South Saxons.
Some he plundered, some he killed.
Then after he had rested a while
To Rome king Ine went; 1710
And Æthelheard, his kinsman,
Received the kingdom of the West Saxons.
Fourteen years he held it very wisely.
He was beloved among his people.
Then after two years had passed 1715
Two comets showed themselves. Comet.
The stars shed rays,
Some said that for peace,

1697. AS. Chr. 725.
1704. AS. Chr. 722 (721).
1710. AS. Chr. 728 (726).
1716. In Jan. 72⅔. AS. Chr. 729. It is conjectured that this comet is the same as that of 1677. Pingré, I. 335.
1717. Stevenson translates "foretold the fall of Kings," but the translation above seems the more likely to be correct. The warning given by comets is specified also by Honorius of Autun. "Cometæ sunt stellæ flammis crinitæ in Lactea Zona versus Aquilonem apparentes, regni mutationem aut pestilentiam, aut bella vel ventos, æstus vel siccitatem portendentes. Cernuntur autem septem diebus, si diutius octoginta" (De Imagine Mundi, Lib. I., c. 137. Migne's Patrol. Cursus, v. 172, p. 146). One copy (R. MS. 13 A. XXI., f. 21), reads "æstus vel oriundas lites."

Some said that for war;
That it foretells banishment from the land.
But whatever they said, right or wrong,
Why this was none knew.
Osric, the king, then died.
Eleven years he reigned. He was full strong.
And St. Ecgberht died then,
Who had lived a good life.
Ceolwulf held the kingdom eight years afterwards.
Then Oswald the etheling died.
The day came, then it grew dark.
Æthelbald harried Wessex.
He took and seized Somerton.
He conquered much while he lived.
Bishop Acca was then driven
From Hexham, from his see.
Then the moon appeared
Red; it was blood, as it seemed
To all those who saw it.
It was bloody every one said.
The archbishop then died,
Tatwine, he served God well.
They chose Ecgberht to his see.
He ruled the archbishopric well.
Bede, the priest, then died
At Wearmouth. There they buried him.
King Ceolwulf became a monk.
A kinsman of his took the kingdom.

1723. AS. Chr. 729.
1725. *See* v. 1664.
1728. AS. Chr. 730.
1728. An eclipse of the sun on 14 August. AS. Chr. 733. (L'Art de Verifier.)
1733. AS. Chr. 733.
1735. AS. Chr. 734.
1739. Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury. AS. Chr. 734.
1743. AS. Chr. 734. Bede, in fact, died the following year, 735.
1745. King of Northumbria. AS. Chr. 737.

Eadberht was his name. Twenty-one years
He held the kingdom, with great trouble,
For Æthelbald warred against him.
This year he harried Northumberland. 1750
Eadberht, the son of Eata,
Eata, the son of Leodwald.
This was the name of the powerful king
Who reigned over the Northumbrians.
His brother was named Ecgberht, the son of Eata. 1755
He was an archbishop, of noble race.
Both lie side by side
At York, in the porch.

Then after a short time
A king of the West Saxons died, 1760
King Æthelheard. His kinsman,
Cuthred, reigned after his death.
Sixteen years, they say, he held the land.
King Æthelbald made great war on him.
Æthelbald was king of Mercia. 1765
Cuthred upheld his West Saxons.
Saint Cuthbyrht held the archbishopric,
For the archbishop was exiled.
Cuthred and king Æthelbald
Fought against the Welsh. 1770
They made truce, for the battle.
They quite discomfited the gathering
Which the Welsh had made,
Who could, as soon as he could, fled.
A year after the men of Winchester, 1775
When Daniel was no longer,

1751. AS. Chr. 738.
1761. AS. Chr. 741 (740).
1767. Cuthbyrht, archbishop of Canterbury, was elected on the death, not banishment, of Nothhelm. AS. Chr. 741 (740).
1749. AS. Chr. 743.
1776. Daniel resigned the bishopric of Winchester 744, and died the following year. AS. Chr. 744 (745).

Made Hunferth their bishop.
[He was a right good master of the clergy,
A wiser could not be.]
The stars of heaven rose,
And moved in appearance:
The people said they were falling.
Then departed the other Wilfrith,
On the third day within the month of April.
He was bishop thirty years,
As the ancients tell us.
Then was king Selred slain.
Then king Eadbryht departed;
And Dan Cynric of Wessex,
A king's son, was killed.
In that time and season,
Between Cuthred and Æthelhun,
They held battle and made war.
He was an ealdorman of the land.
The one was king, the other ealdorman.
Well this Æthelhun held his own.

When Cuthred had reigned twelve years
He fought against Æthelbald.
The king of Mercia took to flight,
He [Cuthred] killed many of his men.
At Burford was the battle;
The Mercians had the overthrow.
Two years after, king Cuthred
Fought against the Welsh.

1780. And steorran foron swyðe scotygende. AS. Chr. 744.
1783. Bishop of York, died, 3 kal. Mai. AS. Chr. 744.
1786. As we read, D.
1786. Selred was king of the East Saxons. AS. Chr. 746.
1788. King of Kent. AS. Chr. 748.
1791. AS. Chr. 750.
1798. AS. Chr. 752.
1804. AS. Chr. 753. The Chr. does not state the result of the battle, nor is it mentioned either in the Annales Cambriæ or Brut y Tywysogion.

He was defeated; but escaped,
And lost little of his own.
Two years after he came to his end.
Then they made his kinsman king,
Who was named Sigebryht.
He held the kingdom no more than a year.
Seven hundred and sixty, less five years,
There were at that day and that time,
From the nativity of Jesus,
Until that day, as was reckoned,
When Cynewulf disinherited
Sigebryht. He drove out his kinsman
And the lords of the country,
For treasons which they had committed.
He held the county of Hampton,
And all Wessex and Wilton.

Cynewulf long time held the land,
Till a lord took it from him by war.
Much he warred against him and well he held himself,
Until the last ill befel him.
He fought a battle against Cynewulf;
All his men were killed,
And he escaped wounded.
He hid himself in Andredesweald,
Until a swineherd struck him dead
In a thicket, where he was found.
Cynewulf was then holder [of the kingdom]
Till he had reigned more than twenty years.
This Sigebryht whom he had driven out
Was his kinsman, but by the instigation
And advice of his lords,

1807. One year. AS. Chr. 754.
1815. AS. Chr. 755.
1817. For unryhtum dædum. AS. Chr. 755.
1825. The passage is confused. "He" must mean Sigebryht, whom Cynewulf drove into Andred, and who was stabbed by a herdsman at Pryfetesflod (Privet). AS. Chr. 755.

Who were foolish and wicked,
The king was angered against him.
This Sigebryht had a brother,
Whose name was Cyneheard.
He took a mad revenge.
By spies he watched,
When the king entered a chamber
Where he came privately
To a lady without his people.
At this chamber he attacked him,
Until the king came out.
With an axe, which he wielded,
He (Cynewulf) ran at him directly he saw him.
With the axe he gave him such a stroke
Upon the head, when he struck him,
That he clove him to the shoulders.
He killed him who attacked him,
But the others rushed on him;
He was slain in very little time,
And when Siebrant heard it,
He and his men came to the cry.
They killed all they found,
And took and robbed and plundered.
But as soon as he had gone thence,
The household came to the cry,
Who had been with the king,
And whom he had cherished and loved.

When they saw their lord dead,
They had great grief in their hearts;
Nothing would make them desist

1840. Cynewulf's death is recounted in AS. Chr. 755, and again mentioned under its true date, 784.

1850. According to the AS. Chr. 755, Cynewulf wounded, but did not kill Cyneheard.

1855. There is an error in the name here. Sigebryht had already been killed. See v. 1825 note.

From going to avenge their lord.
They attacked them and struck him (Cyneheard).
They waited for them valiantly.
He (Cyneheard) promised much and spoke them well,
And reasoned with the thanes,
" Lords," he said, " attack me not
" For I have rightfully avenged myself.
" You know well, I believe,
" That I am the son of Sigebryht.
" I ought, in justice,
" To hold the kingdom, to lead the people.
" When this uncle of mine made war on me
" I could not stay in the land.
" If I have avenged myself on him for it,
" You do wrong to marvel.
" Lords, make great rejoicing,
" And give me my rank again,
" By the agreement which I will make
" I will give back to each of you his honour,
" And will give you great increase;
" The poorest I will make rich."
They replied: " We will not make peace,
" We defy you as a traitor,
" You have killed our lord,
" Let us strike, no delay."
Then they struck valiantly.
The others struck back likewise.
What shall I say? Great was the shock.
Sigebryht (Cyneheard) was killed that day,
He and all his companions,
Except only one lad,
He was the king's godson.

1868. They, i.e., Cyneheard's party.
1874. Brother. AS. Chr. 755.
1887. D. reads " Pais ne ferum."
1897. The godson of Osric, the ealdorman, who was with Cynewulf's thanes. AS. Chr. 755.

Therefore he escaped, I trow,
Thus ended this war.
Then none had wars in the land;
Neither the uncle nor the nephews,
Nor the barons who were dead,
Nor Cumbra, who fought with him,
Who fled to Andredesweald,
Whom the swineherd killed in the wood.
Of low estate was the man who betrayed him.

THE lineage of these two kings,
And of the nephews of whom I spoke before,
The descent of their fathers,
Was reckoned to Cerdic.
From uncle to nephew,
From father to son,
They were of Cerdic's lineage.
Cynewulf reigned twenty-one years.
He endured much pain and trouble.
They carried him to Winchester,
With great honour they buried him there.
And his nephews who were killed,
One they placed at Axminster,
The other they interred at Defurel.
Cyneheard was the youth's name.
This year also was killed
King Æthelbald, the Mercian.
At Repton they buried him.
For his sake they honoured the place for many years.

1903. Cumbra was an ealdorman slain by Sigebryht, AS. Chr. 755. Gaimar, by misunderstanding the Anglo-Saxon, refers the facts mentioned in the next two lines to Cumbra, instead of Sigebryht.

1914. Thirty-one years, AS. Chr. 755, but the dates given by the Chronicle for the length of his reign are, 755 to 784. XXXI is a likely error for XXIX.

1918. Cyneheard was buried at Axminster, AS. Chr. 755, but the burial of another ætheling at Defurel is not mentioned there nor in any other historian.

1921. AS. Chr. 755.

Forty-one years was he king.
After him the Mercians made
Beornræd king, by such tenure.
This year was he driven out of the kingdom.
King Offa drove him out.
Thirty nine years he (Offa) held the land and reigned.
And after him the Mercians
Made Ecgferth king of the realm.
He was the son of Offa, who held it before him.
He reigned enough, good befell him.
A hundred and forty-one days
He held the kingdom like a righteous man.
Eadberht was lord in Northumberland.
Once he began often to say
That he wished to serve God,
To become a monk or canon.
Then he departed and forsook all.
Oswulf, his son, then occupied
Northumberland, Mercia, and Deira.
And Bernicia was given up to him.
One year he lived, then he was killed.
This his wicked servants did,
Who afterwards were all destroyed,
Hanged, and all cruelly made away with.

At this time, so says the history,
Seven hundred and fifty-nine remembrances
Our ancestors had made,
From the coming of God to this day.
So many years there were when died
The good Cuthbyrht, whom God loved,
And Moll Æthelwald was made king.
This did the Northumbrians.

1937. AS. Chr. 757.
1954. Archbishop of Canterbury, AS. Chr. 758.
1955. AS. Chr. 759.

Two years was he king and ruled the land well.
But he loved peace much less than war.
In the second year that he reigned
It was a hard winter, it rained and snowed,
And froze, and was so cold
That scarcely anything could protect
Men or people, or cattle or beasts,
From the hard winter and the weather.
It was said that this signified
The death of king Moll, who then reigned,
Who was slain on a mountain ;
Eadwine's Cliff they call it.
There Anche and Oswine killed him.
The country favoured Alchred,
He lived and held the kingdom nine years.
But the lords altogether
Forsook him for the right heir (Æthelred).
They caused him to have his kingdom.
They received him at York.
King Alchred was driven away.
Æthelred was son of king Moll.
To him the Northumbrians did homage.
He only reigned four years.
Then was a sign seen,
From heaven to earth it stretched,
In likeness of a cross.
It was after sunset
That this sign was seen,
And then died king Eadberht.
The English called him Eating (son of Eata).

1957. He reigned six years in all. AS. Chr. 759.
1960. AS. Chr. 761.
1967. Mol was not killed at Eadwine's Cliff, but killed Oswine there. AS. Chr. 761.
1970. Alchred, king of Northumbria. AS. Chr. 765.
1980. AS. Chr. 773 (774).
1985. Eadbehrt, king of Northumbria. (See v. 1937.) AS. Chr. 768.

In this year two kings,
The kings of Mercia and Kent,
Fought a great battle at Otford,
Where many a valiant man was slain.
Then were seen serpents
Such as no one had ever seen before.
They appeared in Sussex.
Those who had seen them said
That they were black and white,
That they became red and green,
Then that they changed into many colours,
Seven or eight times in the day.
And when it came towards night
They sang with such delight,
That under heaven was no instrument
Which men would so gladly hear.
And when anyone hunted them,
The wretch who tried to catch them
Was soon bound by the legs
So that he could not move his feet.
At that time was dispute and great strife
Between two kings for Bensington.
King Offa took it;
And Cynewulf was very wroth.
A YEAR after were killed
Three high-reeves of the country.
This did Heardberht and Æthelbald.
By them was the attack begun,
Ealdulf, Cynewulf, and Ecga,
At King's Cliff and at Helathyrn.
And Alfwold seized the kingdom.
He drove out king Æthelred.
Ten years this king reigned.

1988. AS. Chr. 773 (774).
1991. AS. Chr. 773 (774).
2011. AS. Chr. 778.
2016. *Eleburnan*]. Helathyrn (AS. Chr.). Thorpe suggests Ellerton.

At this time such was the law,
That, whoever was strong, made war,
And took his neighbour's land.
Then was a battle
Between the Saxons and the host
Which had come from Saxony.
This was at Portsmouth Haven,
When they thought to land,
They encountered the Saxons,
Who were defending the land from them.
They were outlaws, therefore they did it.
This year at Seletun (Silton)
Dan Beorn, a rich lord, was burned.
The Northumbrians hated him so
That they burned him in a great fire.

At this time, as folk know,
From the coming of Jesus,
There were seven hundred and eighty years
And two more, I warrant you;
For Werburh then died,
A sainted queen.
Ceolred, the king, had her to wife.
She lies at Chester in a worthy place,
And every year is seen there
That God does great works through her.
Two years after her death
Two kings were making war.
One was named Cyneheard.

2024. Eald Seaxe and Francon. AS. Chr. 779 (780). The Chronicle does not mention the place where the battle was fought.

2034. On December 24 or 25. AS. Chr. 779 (780).

2042. Gaimar confuses Werburh, wife of Ceolred, king of Mercia, with Werburh, daughter of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, who was buried at Hanbury in 699, and remove d to Chester in 875. According to Simeon of Durham, the wife of Ceolred was also an abbess, but he does not say of what monastery. (Hist. Regum., vol. II., p. 50, Rolls Ed.)

2045. AS. Chr. 784.

He killed Cynewulf openly,
Also eighty-four men
Did Cyneheard slay there.
At this time king Beorhtric held
Wessex sixteen years, as it is written.
He was buried at Wareham.
He was one of the descendants of Cerdic.
Then was Ecgferth raised to be king,
And the crosier given to Higebryht.
Messengers came from Rome,
From Adrian, a holy man,
To renew the holy law.
As erst, I trow, did
St. Augustin and St. Gregory,
So did this pope.
And king Offa then gave
His daughter, whom he largely dowered,
To king Beorhtric; he gave him his daughter
Eadburg, who was fair and gentle.
And at this time the Danes came
To war upon the English.
They killed the king's reeve,
They seized the land and took it.
Much evil they did through the country,
Though they had only three ships.
Then they returned to their country.
They collected their friends.
They would come to Britain;
They would take it from the English.
For among themselves they reasoned,
And said that it was their heritage.

2056. AS. Chr. 785. According to Florence of Worcester, Higebryht succeeded Berthun, bishop of Dorchester, in 785, and on the division of the archbishopric of Canterbury by Offa and archbishop Janbryht, he became archbishop of Lichfield, and died 786. W. Malms. de Gestis Regum, p. 119. (Le Neve.)

2063. AS. Chr. 787.

And that many men of their race
Had inherited the kingdom.
Before the English entered it,
Or any man of Saxony dwelt there,
King Dane ruled the kingdom,
Who was born in Denmark.
Thus did Ailbrith and Haveloc,
And others they named with them.
Wherefore they said with truth,
Britain was their just inheritance.
What matters? They rested much on this;
At this time they did not depart.
From Guenelinge, from a country,
Their enemies (the Danes) attacked them.
Because of this war
They (the English) had to defend their country.

At this time of which I speak
Then was king Alfwold slain.
He held Northumberland.
He was a right holy man, wise and valiant.
King Penda warred against him.
Sicga beheaded his king.
In Mescesfeld was he slain.
The place will be for ever dear.
For brightness and a great heavenly fire

2083. The other MSS. read, "the Danish King," but the allusion is evidently to the King Dane whom Canute claimed as his ancestor. (See v. 4320.)

2085. For Ailbrith, the other MSS. read Ecbrict and Edbright, forms of Egbert. See the list of kings in the Arundel MS., of which an extract is given at p. xxxij. of the Preface.

2091. The AS. Chr. says the Danes came from Hærethaland. Guenelinge looks like a French form of Wendel.

2096. AS. Chr. 789. Gaimar has miscopied this name from the Chronicle, Osewald, and the insertion of Penda and Mescesfeld here, is due to this mistake. See v. 1290. The Chr. says Alfwold was slain 24 September, and buried at Hexham.

Often have clerk and priest seen there.
But his holy body was taken thence,
And carried far into the country.
With piety and care
It was carried thence to Bardney.
There they would bury him,
Love the place, keep the body.
And in the chronicles it is written
That he was buried there.
To Nostell, some say,
His friends carried him.
At Hexham many say
That they have relics of their lord.
And at Coldesdeburch, in the south,
There is his arm, by which God works wonders.
It is entire, God be praised.
His head is placed entire
On the breast of St. Cuthbert.
It rewards him who keeps it.

And after this the Northumbrians
Made his nephew their king.
Osred was his name, he was son of Alchred.
A short time his pride lasted.
He was driven from his kingdom.
To Æthelred then was it given.
He was son of Æthelwold.
In war he was strong and bold.
He had before held the land,

2110. This description of the relics refers to Oswald.

2117. "Colesdeburch el Suth," though in all the MSS. is no doubt wrong. Perhaps it should be "l'eglise de Burch," i.e. Peterborough. In v. 1297, Gaimar says that Oswald's hand is at "Burg," which is explained in the margin as "Burg Sen Pere," perhaps a mistaken version of Bede's statement that the holy relic is at St. Peter's Church, Bebbanburh. But on the other hand, the list of saints in the Breviate of Domesday Book states, that "li Moigne de Burc" say that they possess Oswald's hand. See Preface, vol. I., p. xl.

2123. AS. Chr. 789.

2127. AS. Chr. 790.

But had lost it through his men.
King Offa hated him sore,
For his nephew whom he had dispossessed.
Then Osred returned from exile,
Who had been king before, and was very gracious.
But they killed him cruelly,
Those who had disinherited him.
At Tynemouth lies his body.
And Æthelred then took a wife,
Ælflæd was her name. This queen
Was much attached to her lord.
She tried hard to serve him,
And therefore he loved her much.
At the time I tell you of
Signs were shown to the country;
Red [signs] appeared
Such as no man living ever saw before.
Like scarlet they spread,
They appeared near the earth.
Then came great whirlwinds,
Then fiery dragons flew.
And the lightnings which men saw,
What they boded, none knew.
Some said, in their mind,
That it was for a time of dearth.
Nor did they say very wrong.
This sign did not seem a dream.
It was over Northumberland
That these signs were shown.
After these signs, verily,
The heathen people came.
They landed at the haven of Humber.

2135. AS. Chr. 792.
2145. AS. Chr. 793.
2156. "Cher tens" is Gaimar's translation of "mycel hunger." (AS. Chr. 793.)

They harried Lindsey.
No minster remained unsacked
In any place they came to.
Then died king Sicga.
He had formerly killed Alfwold.
And king Offa then sent word
To the heathen that he would fight,
And the heathen fought.
They had too many men, therefore they conquered.
And the traitors, the Northumbrians,
Killed Æthelred their king.
And after Offa Ecgferth reigned.
Mercia he held and kept.
When he thought to keep it better,
He died, he could not escape that.
The very year that he took possession
It befell that he lost his life.

EADBERHT was then made king in Kent.
He had another private name.
The heathen did not tarry,
When they had wasted Lindsey,
Up the Humber they sailed
As far as the Ouse; then they went
To the mouth of the Don. It is said,
And in the chronicles it was written,
That there was much folk gathered
To defend their country.

2164. Lindsey is an error for Lindisfarne. (See AS. Chr. 793.)
2167. Sicga died on 22 February, 79$\frac{3}{4}$. (AS. Chr. 793.)
2168. Gaimar here again writes Osewald for Alfwold.
2174. AS. Chr. 794.
2181. His other name was Præn. (AS. Chr. 794.)
2187. The AS. Chr. states that the heathens plundered Ecgferth's (Ecgfrid) Minster "æt donemuðe." This monastery was at Wearmouth. (Bede, IV. 18.) The Editor of the Mon. Brit. suggests that the correct reading in the Chr. should be "æt ðone muðe." Gaimar has taken "done," as the name of the River Don.

They killed more than thirty men.
There was a great storm on the water.
One of their (the heathen) leaders was slain.
In an ill hour he entered this country.
Some of their ships were destroyed ;
Some of their men were drowned.
Nevertheless they did not depart,
But wasted great part of the country.
Then the archbishop Eanbald,
And a bishop, St. Higbald,
Placed Eardwulf on the throne
At York, the bishopric.
Northumberland belonged to him.
These two hallowed him for king,
And king Offa then died,
Who reigned 40 years, as I think.
Cenwulf obtained Mercia.
A warrior king, a strong tyrant.
He went to Kent and harried it.
He took Eadberht and led him away.
He was lord of the men of Kent,
This king took him to Mercia.
Beorhtric, king of Wessex,
Left the world in this month ;
And Ecgbryht reigned after him.
All Wessex he held, I trow.
Then at this time came the Welsh
To waste this king's land,
Straight to Kempsford.
There were the Welsh slain.

2199. AS. Chr. 795.
2205. AS. Chr. 796.
2207. AS. Chr. 796.
2213. AS. Chr. 800.
2217. The Hwiccas, from Worcestershire, according to the AS. Chr. Æthelmund was their leader, not of the Wiltshire men, who were led by Weohstan.

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For Æthelmund with Wiltshire
Made great slaughter of the Welsh.
THEN died king Cuthred.
He reigned in Kent and Thanet.
And the Northumbrians drove Eardwulf,
Their king, from Northumberland.
Eight years after Carle died,
Who had held Cumberland.
He lived forty-five years.
Northumberland was obedient to him.
This country he held all his reign.
Never I think was anyone so great.
IN this year, as the history says,
The true history of Winchester,
King Ecgbryht harried Wales.
He wasted all the west country,
And then in the east, on his return,
He took all the booty he could find.
Seven years after Cenwulf of Mercia
Died in Basewerce.
And Ceolwulf reigned after him.
Two years he held the land with much weariness.
At the end of two years he lost it.
He was not beloved, therefore he fled.
Such deeds had he done, that all hated him.
Many wished to kill him.
We will leave him; and speak of him
Of a brave king of another kingdom,
Wessex. Ecgbryht was his name.
Beornwulf raised great strife against him.

2233. AS. Chr. 805 (804).
2225. AS. Chr. 806.
2227. This means Charles the Great. The reference to Cumberland and Northumberland is of course a mistake, due to misapprehension.
2235. AS. Chr. 813 (812, 815).
2238. AS. Chr. 819 (822).
2242. AS. Chr. 821.
2250. AS. Chr. 823.

He was king of Mercia. At Ellendune
It was shown which was the better.
On both sides there was great slaughter
At the battle which they fought,
In the end, so says the history,
King Ecgbryht had the victory.
King Ecgbryht had a son
Who was named Æthelwulf.
Him and bishop Ealhstan,
And Wulfheard, he ordered
To take many of his folk,
And go to conquer, in Kent.
And those who went, with a great host,
Soon drove out king Baldred.
They conquered the land.
The king fled over the Thames;
And the men of Kent granted
That Ecgbryht should have all the kingdom.
And in Sussex and in Surrey
His rule went everywhere.
And the men of Essex for their fiefs
Sent him hostages.
This folk received him,
Because some of his old kinsfolk
Had once held the land
And lost it by war.
And for fear of the Mercians
They received Ecgbryht as king;
And those of East Anglia also,
For the fear of the same folk.

At this time there were two kings
In the land of the Mercians.
One was Beornwulf, much pride he showed.
The other was named Ludecan.

2251. Thorpe suggests Allington as the modern name of Ellendune.

Among them were seven princes.
These two were chief of all.
And likewise in other kingdoms
Everywhere there were such lords.
As soon as one could rise a little
He had himself called king.
This Ludecan, of whom I first spoke,
He was killed by the Welsh,
[And Wiglaf received the kingdom
Where Ludecan had been].
At this time Ecgbryht, the king,
Conquered this country and took it for himself.
And all south of the Humber,
Men held of him, by reckoning and by number.
Once there were eight kings in the kingdom,
Of whom the others held their fiefs.
He was one of them, I think.
But before him, in the old time,
There was a valiant king in Sussex,
Who afterwards conquered Northumberland,
Ælla was his name, all his life.
The third was called Æthelbryht.
He was king of Kent, a bold king he was.
And the fourth was named Rædwald.
In East Anglia this king reigned,
A right wise man and well he ended.
The fifth king was named Eadwine;
He held the kingdom beyond Tyne,
And the other kingdom of York,
And all Wessex was his fief.
The sixth Oswald, the seventh Oswiu.
But the land did not go thus.

2291. AS. Chr. 825.

2295. AS. Chr. 827.

2305. Gaimar here confuses Ælla, king of the South Saxons, the first Brytenwalda, who came to Britain in 477, with the two kings of Northumbria named Ælla, who died in 588 and 867 respectively.

So that no man, except by war,
Knew how went the land.
Nor at that time did anyone know
Who belonged to each king.
But monks and canons of abbeys,
Who wrote the lives of kings.
Each applied to his companion
To show the true account
Of the kings; how long each reigned,
How he was called; how he died;
Who was killed, and who deceased.
Who are preserved, and who decayed.
And of the bishops also
The clerks kept record.
Chronicles, it is called, a big book.
The English went about collecting it.
Now it is thus authenticated;
So that at Winchester, in the cathedral,
There is the true history of the kings,
And their lives and their memorials.
King Alfred had it in his possession,
And had it bound with a chain.
Who wished to read, might well see it,
But not remove it from its place.
The eighth king was named Ceawlin.
He had the West Saxons with him.
He was king of one part.
In this kingdom was his lordship.
Of the other part Ecgbryht was king,
Who afterwards reigned over the Southhumbrians.
And when he had conquered so far,
He led his host beyond Humber.
At Dore was he received.

2349. Stevenson suggests that Dorewit or Dorewik (D.L. H.). and Everwik (R.), are a misunderstanding of the phrase in the AS. Chr., "Ecgbriht lædde fyrde to Dore wiþ Norðanhumbra."

Then was he king of North and South.
Wiglaf recovered the kingdom.
He was king again over Mercia.
In this year king Ecgbryht
Gained to himself the North Welsh.
All with their good will
Ecgbryht gained them over.
Two years after, truly,
Then came the heathen folk.
They harried all Sheppey.
They cared for no man.
The next year after, Ecgbryht went
And led his host against the heathen.
With the heathen he fought a great battle.
Many men died there without fail.
The battle was at Charmouth.
Many good lords died there,
But the heathen were the stronger;
They drove back Ecgbryht with loss.

THEN came another fleet.
In West Wales they held council.
They talked over the West Welsh,
So that they held with the Danes.
Together they went fighting,
Doing much evil through the country.
Then they met king Ecgbryht,
And entered his land.
Hengestdown (Hengston) is the hill called
Where they gave him battle.

2351. AS. Chr. 828.
2359. AS. Chr. 832.
2361. AS. Chr. 833 (834).
2370. *Concire, cunsire,* translated *council,* is not *conseil* altered for the sake of rhyme, of which instances occur with other words, but a noun formed from *consirer* = *considerer.*
2371. AS. Chr. 835.

There he made havoc of them.
Conquered were the cruel heathen.
Then had the age lasted,
From the nativity of Christ,
Eight hundred and thirty-seven years,
As clerks who read say.
At that time, at that place,
Died Ecgbryht who possessed so much.
This was he who chased Offa.
Thirty-seven years and one month he reigned.
Then Æthelwulf, his son, reigned,
And Æthelstan, a noble king.
One had Wessex, the other Kent;
Surrey and Sussex also.
And they wished to claim
To rule all that their father had.

Then came a right strong fleet.
It landed at the port of Hampton.
There were thirty-three ships.
I think God hated them much,
Because by Wulfheard, a brave ealdorman,
Great havoc was made of them.
He fought with them.
Many he killed, and overcame.
The same year the man died.
If he could have lived longer,
As ancient people say,
He would have done much damage to the heathen;
But the heathen joined together,
And did evil and warred.
Their folk came, cruel Danes,
And killed many lords.
Then they killed Æthelhelm.

2386. AS. Chr. 836.
2396. AS. Chr. 837.
2411. AS. Chr. 837.

He gave them battle.
He was so brave and valiant,
And so mighty in battle,
That when the English had lost him,
No such good shield remained to them.
To London straightway went
The Danes to give battle.
There they did their pleasure.
Many then they put to death.
Thence they went to Rochester.
There they fought a battle in the field.
Many peasants they killed,
But most fled.
He who could enter the city
Was saved and well cared for;
And he who could not, was not saved,
Unless he fled to some other part.

THENCE they went to Sandwich,
But were not welcomed.
All the men of Kent were assembled.
In an open field they met them.
Fiercely they fought;
But yet the Danes conquered.
If it had not been for the town, which was shut up,
Many Kentish men would have been slain;
But by means of the town many escaped;
The rest all perished.
King Æthelwulf then reigned.
He went through the country against them;
And the Danes from all parts
Came in their ships.

2417. AS. Chr. 839.

2429. The various MSS. of AS. Chr. read Cwantawic, Cantwic, and Cantwarabirig. This battle at Sandwich is mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 851 (853).

2442. AS. Chr. 840.

At Charmouth king Æthelwulf
Fought with the Danes;
But the Danes had the victory,
So the king of glory permitted.

A.D. 845. THEN there were eight hundred and forty-five years
Since Christ came into the world.
In this year fought
Eanulf, the ealdorman, and defeated the Danes.
Another ealdorman, his name was Osric,
Was with him as captain.
One led the men of Dorset,
The other the men of Somerset.
At the mouth of the Parret
The Danes were beaten this year.
Ceorl, the ealdorman pursued them;
He never stopped till he came to Thanet.
The lords of Devonshire
Helped him in the pursuit.
They began at Wembury (?).
They drove them as far as Thanet.
There they were all the winter time.
Other ships returning
Came thither, against the summer.
To Canterbury they went.
They broke into and spoiled the city;
They defeated King Beohrtwulf;
They put to flight the king of Mercia,
As far as the city of Luie.
And the heathen went into Surrey.
This was force and craft;

2450. AS. Chr. 845.

2457. Different versions of the AS. Chr. put the battle of Wieganbeorh six or eight years later, 851 and 853.

2466. AS. Chr. 851 (853).

2470. No place is mentioned in the AS. Chr. in connexion with Beohrtwulf's flight, but London (Lundenburg) is said to have been stormed as well as Canterbury. "Luie" may perhaps be due to a mistaken reading of Lundenburg.

For Æthelwulf, the chief king,
And his son Æthelbald, I trow,
Fought at Ockley.
The West Saxons did so well
That they defeated all the Danes;
Many a man lost his life there.
This same year, at Sandwich,
The Danes were again defeated,
By Æthelstan and by Ealchere.
Æthelstan was the king's brother.
The one was brother to king Æthelwulf.
He alone was chief king of East Anglia.
Ealchere was an ealdorman holding of him.
He slew more than twenty Danes,
And from their ships, which they had brought
Into the Thames, wherever they found them
They took men and their goods.
They had none of them spared.
Whatever harm a man can do
He ought to wreak on his enemy.

When these Danes were here,
Burhred was king of Mercia.
By help of the noble Æthelwulf,
He made the North Welsh obey him.
In the same year that this happened,
Ealchere, the king who then held Kent,
With the men of Kent, and with the ealdorman Huda,
Who had the men of Surrey to aid,
Went against the Danes
In the Isle of Thanet.
They fought with the heathen.
Little they gained, lives they lost.
Huda and Ealchere were killed.

2479. AS. Chr. 851 (853).
2493. "The king" is a gratuitous addition of Gaimar. The AS. Chr. only says "mid Cantwarum."
2494. AS. Chr. 853 (854).

They could not escape better.
Then Burhred of Mercia took
The daughter of Æthelwulf to wife.
A year after the Danes came
To Sheppey, with their troops.
With their troops and ships
They spent the winter there till March.
In the year of which I have spoken
King Æthelwulf divided his land.
All his land he divided,
And gave it to the honour of God.
Then after he had had his heir acknowledged
He went straight to Rome.
With great honour he went to Rome,
And tarried there a whole year.
Then on his return he married
The daughter of Charles, who gave her to him.
This was the daughter of the king of France.
Always he strove to do honour.

Two years after this he died.
Nineteen years this king reigned,
As the old story tells.
He was buried at Winchester.
He was son of King Ecgbryht,
Who made the kingdom submit to him.
His two sons received his kingdom
Whom he had by his first wife.
Æthelbald had all Wessex,
And Æthelbryht, Kent and Sussex,
And Essex and Surrey.
Powerful kings were they in their life.
Five years reigned king Æthelbald,
Then he departed, life failed him.
They laid his body at Sherborne.

2509. AS. Chr. 855 (856).
2526. Eighteen years and a half. AS. Chr. 855 (856).
2537. AS. Chr. 860 (861).

He made the Danes grieve in his time.
King Æthelbryht was his brother.
He took Wessex, as was right.
Six years he reigned in these kingdoms.
Then he departed. They carried him
To Sherborne, after his brother.
Then fell the master of the English.
With the two kings they had lost,
They had often conquered the Danes.

In the time that these reigned,
A heathen horde wasted
The country of Winchester;
But two ealdormen, who ruled there,
Kept for the king the country,
Which is called Hampshire.
Osric and Æthelwulf were their names.
Both were powerful lords.
Osric had the men of Hampshire,
And Æthelwulf those of Berkshire.
So they fought on the spot.
They had the victory over the Danes.
Then came the Danes to Thanet,
Who had the Kentish men for servants.
They took truce with this folk;
Then they harried all the east,
But a king who reigned then
Warred against them right willingly,
Æthelred, the brother of the two kings
Who had reigned before.
At this time came the great fleet,
No man ever saw a fleet who did not see this.

2544. Five years according to the AS. Chr.
2550. AS. Chr. 860 (861).
2561. AS. Chr. 865 (866).
2564. AS. Chr. 866 (867).
2570. D.L. H. read:—No man who wears clothes ever saw the like.

In East Anglia they landed.
All the winter they stayed there.
In March, in mockery,
They granted a truce to this folk.
Then they took horses,
The best of their men,
And most of them went in ships
As far as Humber, sails set.
More than twenty thousand went on foot.
Soon you will hear of great marvels.
These Danes returned.
At Grimsby they passed the Humber,
And those on foot likewise.
Great plenty they had of men;
And those who were with the ships
All went to York.
Both by water and by land,
They waged great war at York.

Those who came by water
Sailed as far as the Ouse;
But directly the sun was hidden
The tide turned,
And they then quartered themselves there;
Some on the water, some in tents;
But the chief men, the lords,
Went into houses in the town.
There dwelled a noble man,
Beorn Butsecarl was his name.
He lodged all the lords
Very richly, with great honour.
He had brought them thus together,
And summoned them from Denmark
On account of the shame of his wife,
Which he desired eagerly to avenge.

2577. AS. Chr. 867 (868).

A GREAT shame was done to her.
Osbryht held Northumberland.
He dwelt at York.
One day he went to the forest.
He went to hunt in the Vale of Ouse.
Privily he went to eat
At the house of this thane,
Who was named Beorn the Butsecarl.
The goodman was then at sea.
For outlaws he was wont to watch.
And the lady, who was very fair,
Of whom the king had heard a report,
Was at the house, as was right;
She had no liking for evil.
Now behold the king come;
With great honour was he received.
When he had eaten as much as he would,
Then he spake the folly which he thought.
" Lady, I wish to speak with you,
" Let the room be cleared."
All went out of the chamber
Except two who kept the doors.
These were the king's companions.
They well knew his secrets.
The lady did not perceive
Why the king did thus.
When he took her, against her will,
He did his will with her.
Then he departed, left her weeping.
To York he spurred,
And when he was with his favourites
Often he joked about it.

THE lady mourned much,
For the shame he had done her.

2631. Stevenson translates *estre son gre*, to do his pleasure, but *estre* is the French for *extra*, and the phrase means " beyond her desire."

She lost all her colour
From the sorrow he had caused her.
Then behold Beorn was grieved,
Who was very noble and gentle.
Among all the seafaring men
There was no braver man on land.
Nor in the kingdom where he was born
Was there any man with better kindred.
When he saw his wife pale,
And saw her weak and thin,
And found her quite changed
From what she was when he left her,
Then he asked what this should be,
What it meant, and what was the matter with her.
She said to him, "I will tell you,
" I will accuse myself,
" Then do to me such justice
" As if I was taken in theft."
He replied, " What has happened?"
" Lately the king lay with me.
" By force he did his wickedness.
" Now it is right that I should lose my life.
" Though this was done secretly
" I wish to die openly.
" Rather would I die than live longer."
Fainting she fell at his feet,
And he replied, " Rise up, my love,
" For this you shall not be hated.
" Weakness cannot resist strength.
" In you are many good signs.
" As you have first confessed this to me,
" I will have much pity on you.
" But if you had hidden it from me
" Till another showed it to me,
" Never would my heart have loved you,
" Nor my mouth have kissed you.
" As this felon did his felony,

" I will seek that he lose his life."
Night fell. But at morn
To York he took his way.
He found the king among his people.
Beorn had there many good kinsfolk.
The king saw him. He called him.
Beorn at once defied him.
" I defy thee, and give thee back all.
" I will hold nothing of thee,
" Never will I hold aught of thee,
" Thy homage I return to thee."
Then he left the house.
With him came out many good lords.
THEN he took counsel of his kin.
He complained to them of the shame;
How the king had treated him;
He told and related the whole to them.
Then he told them that he would go away,
If he could, he would bring the Danes.
Never would his mind be at rest
Till he was avenged of the king.
And his kinsfolk promised
That they would drive him (the king) out of the country.
So they did. For this misdeed
They immediately left the king.
So they made king of the country
A knight whose name was Ælla.
THEN it happened, as you hear,
That he brought in the Danes.
At Cawood were lodged
Those who came on board the ships,
But most of the Danes
Came through the midst of Holderness,

2700. AS. Chr. 867 (868). Ælla was not of royal blood, according to the Chronicle.

And then by the waste country
Till they were near the city.
And the fleet came to meet them.
The king who then held the country
Was that day gone into the forest,
When they came to the city.
But the other king remained
He who was deprived of the keys.
When the Danes attacked
A little while they defended themselves.
But a short space lasted their defence,
Then the Danes gained the battle.
Soon then was the city taken.
There was great slaughter of men.
Osbryht, the king, was killed.
Beorn his enemy was avenged.

King Ælla was in the wood,
Four hinds he had then taken.
He was seated at his dinner.
He heard a man ring a bell.
In his hand he held a little bell.
It rang as clear as an *eschelette*,
The king desired that he should come forward;
That he should have something to eat; for he asked for it.
As the king sat at his meat,
He said to a knight
" We have done very well to-day.
" We have killed what we hunted,

2728. *Uns hom* should be nominative, but the above appears to be the meaning.

2730. " Dans le latin du moyen-âge *tintinnabulum* signifiait souvent une espèce d'instrument composé de plusieurs clochettes de divers calibres suspendues en file à une barre de bois ou de fer et donnant des sons différents quand on les frappait l'une après l'autre en cadence. Ce *tintinnabulum* paraît avoir été traduit par *eschelettes*."—Burguy, Grammaire de la langue d'oil, iii., 138.

" Four hinds and six roes.
" Often have we hunted worse."
The blind man heard him, sitting far off;
Then he spake a word of truth:
" Though you taken so much in the forest,
" You have lost all this country.
" The Danes have done better,
" Who have taken York,
" And killed many thanes there.
" Osbryht's enemies have killed him."
The king replied "How know you this?"
" My wit has shown it me.
" For a sign, if you do not believe me,
" Your sister's son, whom you see there,
" Orrum, will be the first killed
" In the battle at York.
" There will be a great battle.
" If you believe me you will not go forward
" And yet it cannot be otherwise.
" A king must lose his head there."
The king replied: "Thou hast lied.
" Thou shalt be taken and evilly intreated.
" If this be not true, thou shalt lose thy life.
" Thou must pay for thy sorcery."
The blind man replied, "I agree to this.
" If this be untrue, kill me."
The king had him led with him.
He ordered him to be well guarded.
In a high tower
He placed his nephew, that he might stay there.
Then he gave him a task
And promised to send for him.
The folk of the land gathered,
And went with the king to York.

2767. Or perhaps:—Then he said, that if he survived, he promised to send for him.

They met wounded men enough,
And runaways, who told them
All that the fortuneteller had said.
Not one word had he lied.
And king Ælla with many folk
Rode on fiercely.
But his nephew did great folly
Whom he had left in the tower.
He took two shields which he found,
He went to the window.
In the shields he put his two arms;
He thought to fly, but a great crash
He came against the earth, when he fell.
But yet he escaped,
So that he was none the worse for it.
He saw a horse, he straightway took it.
A youth was there
Who held the horse by the rein.
Three javelins had he in his hand.
Orrum was no coward.
He seized the javelins straightway.
The horse also he took at once.
Then he mounted. He rode off at once.
The host was already near York.
And he spurred so that he came to the front.
The hosts were assembling.
He thought, as a lighthearted man,
That he would strike the first blow.
At the squadron, which met him,
He threw the javelin which he held.
He struck a horseman
So that it entered his mouth.
Behind his neck it came out.
He could not stand on his feet, the body
Fell dead. It could not be otherwise.
He was a heathen. He needed not a priest.

ORRUM held another dart,
Which he threw to the other side.
He struck a wicked Dane with it.
He aimed well at him, he did not miss.
Under the nipple it entered.
It went to his heart. It struck him dead.
But when he (Orrum) would turn back,
An archer let fly a dart.
It struck him under the chest,
So that mortal tidings reached his heart.
His soul fled, his body fell,
As the blind man had declared.
King Ælla when he knew this,
Never before had such grief in his heart.
Hardily he shouted.
He pierced through two squadrons;
But he did this like a mad man
Who had lost all self-control.
Danes were on all sides.
King Ælla was slain.
He was killed in the field,
Few of his men escaped.
The place where he was struck dead
Is now called Ellecroft.
Towards the west there is a cross.
It is in the middle of England.
The English call it Ellecross.
The Danes never rested
Until they had conquered all
This country to the north of Humber.

BUT then they besieged the city.
They did their will everywhere.
When they had put a garrison there
They went to Mercia; in one country

2840. AS. Chr. 866 (869).

The Danes took Nottingham.
Ingvar and Ubba were their kings.
All the winter they stayed there.
The Mercians assembled a host.
King Burhred assembled an army,
He had sent to king Æthelred,
Who was king of Wessex.
He had a brother Ælfred,
Who well knew how to give counsel,
And order a battle;
And well he knew how to make war.
He was a clerk and a good astronomer.
These came with the host they had called.
They attacked Nottingham;
But the Danes who were within
Lightly retreated.
All were glad when they took a truce.
Afterwards they went on their way,
And the Danes according to their wont
Made a feast, each by himself.

THEN they went back to York.
The folk of the land assembled;
They sent for the Mercians.
They went in the army with the Danes.
They came, and the folk of the North,
With the Danes as far as Thetford.
They had already made a truce,
So they thought themselves safe.
[The Danes] broke peace and truce,
They harried all the country.
They found a king in this land,
A good Christian and a friend of God.

2842. AS. Chr. 870 (871).
2845. AS. Chr. 868 (869).
2861. AS. Chr. 869 (870).
2866. AS. Chr. 870 (871).

Eadmund was his name, a holy man. Saint Edmund.
He held all East Anglia.
With all the men he had,
He fought; he could not conquer,
Because of the many men the Danes had.
Very fiercely they fought,
The victory of the field was theirs.
O God! What a loss was the lord,
The king Eadmund, who was driven
To a castle where his seat was.
And the heathen pursued him.
Eadmund came out to meet them.
The first who met him
Took him and then asked,
"Where is Eadmund? tell us."
"Willingly, and at once.
" When I was in flight
" Eadmund was there and I with him.
" When I turned to flee, he turned,
" I know not if he will escape you."
" Now the end of the king rests with God,
" And with Jesus, whom he obeys."
Those who took him kept him
Until Ingvar and Ubba came.
Many of their folk came with them
Who recognised Saint Eadmund,
And when they knew him, these unbelievers
Cruelly bade him
Renounce God's law,
And Christ who was born of the Virgin.
The king told them he would not do it,
But would firmly believe in Him.
What then did these enemies?
They tied him to a tree,
Then they told him and swore hard,
That he should be tormented with a strange death.
Then they sent for their archers.

They shot at the king with longbows.
So have they shot him and so pierced him
That his body was stuck as full
Of the darts which these wretches shot
As is the skin of an urchin
Thick with prickly spines
When he steals apples from the garden.
Till now, I trow, they might have shot at him
Before the king would have done anything
Of what these wretches wished,
Who so treated his holy body.
Then they called a wretch
Whose name was Coran Colbe.
He cut off the saint's head.
Thus was Eadmund martyred,
But if Gaimar had leisure,
He would say more of the holy martyr.
Because his life is elsewhere,
And the reading, and the story,
He has left it this time
For the history which he had begun.

THESE cruel kings, Ubba and Ingvar,
Did thus with his holy body.
When they had done this, they departed thence,
Straight to Reading they went.
But slowly they marched,
Towns they destroyed and cities.
They killed Christians as they went,
And destroyed their churches.
When they were come to Reading,
The West Saxons went out.
They went to meet their king,
Where he had assembled his host.
And the Danes remained two days.
Always they wrought evil whithersoever they turned.

2939. AS. Chr. 871 (872).

At the third day they made ready.
Two earls who had ridden thither
Went to Englefield.
They found Æthelwulf there.
He was a great lord of the country.
He had assembled his friends,
His men and his forces,
Who killed many of the Danes,
And one of the earls was killed,
Sidroc, who was cruel and warlike.

THE fourth day after king Æthelred
Came, and his brother Ælfred,
To Reading, with a great host,
And the Danes soon sallied out.
In an open field they fought a battle
Which did not cease all day.
There was Æthelwulf slain,
The great man of whom I just spoke,
And Æthelred and Ælfred
Were driven to Wiscelet.
This is a ford towards Windsor,
Near a lake in a marsh.
Thither the one host came pursuing,
And did not know the ford over the river.
Twyford has ever been the name of the ford,
At which the Danes turned back,
And the English escaped.
But many were killed and wounded.
Here were the Danes victors,
But, after this, right on the fourth day,
On Ashdown met
These folk, who loved not each other.
These were Danes and English,

2964. The Editor of the Mon. Brit. suggests that Wiscelet is Whistley Park, near Twyford. The ford is over the Loddon, not the Thames.
2975. AS. Chr. 871 (872).

Who had ere this fought together.
There they made their folk divide
Into two battles, to attack.
For pride the Danes did this.
In one battle were their two kings.
Bagsæc and Healfdene were their names.
With them were many good champions.
In the other battle were earls.
Sidroc the old, who knew how to strike,
And with him the young Sidroc,
Who was of the kin of king Haveloc,
And earl Asbiörn and earl Fræna,
Earl Harald, nephew of Healfdene.
With them were many lords,
And good and tried knights.
And the English on the other side
Divided themselves, nor made delay.
King Æthelred, against the kings,
Fought with his English.
And Ælfred against the earls.
This day the Danes were shamed,
For the English drove them off,
Conquered them on the field, and put them to the sword.
Many thousands of them were killed.
Ill was it for them they came into the country.
Bagsæc, the king, was slain there,
Earl Sidroc, the tall, the strong,
And the earls I have told you of,
Eleven of them were killed on the field.

And a fortnight after this
The cruel people gathered again.
At Basing they fought.
Those who [before] conquered were driven off.

2990. Halfdene is the reading of D. and H. The scribe of R. perhaps was led by the mention of Haveloc to think of the mythical king Dane.

A month after at Merton,
The men of Saxony were vanquished.
Heahmund, the bishop, was killed
Who ruled at Winchester.
Then came a Dane, a tyrant,
Whose name was Sumerlede the Great.
He came to Reading with his host.
Whatever he found he straightway destroyed.
King Æthelred wished to fight him,
But he died. He lies in his place.
At Wimborne this king is buried,
Who only held the kingdom five years.
THEN reigned king Ælfred.
Æthelwulfing was he called.
And the Danes gathered then.
They went to seek him in Wessex.
They found him at Wilton,
With a few folk whom he had gathered.
He fought, it was in vain.
They drove him to the wood from the plain,
And in the year that he was made king
Nine battles fought he with the Danes,
Besides encounters and frays,
Which were between them many days.
And in that year were slain
Nine powerful earls.
They were from Denmark,

3013. Heahmund was bishop of Sherborne, succeeding Ahlstan, who died in 867. Le Neve, iii., 592.

3016. "Sumerlede le grant" is a misconception of the meaning of a sentence in the AS. Chr. 871 (872), "æfter þisum gefeohte com mycel sumerlida to Readingum." As Thorpe has pointed out, Æthelweard's (cap. iii.) phrase *æstivus exercitus* is probably the correct translation of the AS. word. Buchanan (Rerum Scot. Lib. vii.) mentions a powerful Scotch thane, named Sumerled, who raised an insurrection in Argyle and was finally defeated about 1163. His name may have been familiar to Gaimar, and hence the mistake.

3027. AS. Chr. 871 (872).

With them seven thousand men,
And king Bagsæc, their lord.
Ælfred had the victory over them.
And in this year all the Danes
Took truce from Ælfred the king.
Then they left Reading.
They spent the winter at London.
And in the summer the Mercians
Took truce with the Danes.
The winter after the hated race
Stayed at Torksey,
The third winter at Repton.
Burhred was the king, and the right possessor.
Mercia was his kingdom.
By force they drove him out.
Twenty-two years he had held it
When he was driven from the kingdom.
The king went to Rome.
That very year he departed.
In the minster of St. Mary,
In the English school, he lost his life.
There was this lord
Buried with great honour.

THEN the Danes procured that they delivered
Mercia to the Child Ceolwulf.
He gave them hostages
That he would serve them faithfully.
Then they departed different ways.
Ingvar stayed in London,
And Healfdene, the other king,
Went to war against the Picts,
And on Streclued, king of Galloway.

3043. AS. Chr. 872 (873).
3048. AS. Chr. 873 (874).
3049. AS. Chr. 874 (875).
3069. "Streclued reis de Geleweie" is a mistranslation of "Strælced Wealas," the Welsh of Strathclyde. AS. Chr. 875 (876).

Often he put them in evil case.
Kings Guthorm and Oskytel,
And Amund, took council,
That they should go to Cambridge
And besiege the city.
Thus they did. With their great host
They came full soon from Repton.
For a whole year they maintained the siege.
At the end, like fools, they departed.
Much they lost there, little they gained there.
Secretly then they rode
Straight to Wareham and besieged it.
In one day they took the town.

King Ælfred then went thither,
And led the host of Wessex.
He brought so many men of his own kingdom
And of other folk whom he had summoned,
That the Danes fled.
They held a parley at his wish.
This the three kings swore to him,
And the best of the Danes,
And gave good hostages,
Such as the English demanded,
That they would depart without delay,
And would in no way do him wrong.
With this truce they departed.
Now hear what the Danes did:
In the night and in secret
They went to Exeter.
Those on horseback took the city by surprise.
The others went in ships.
They wished to go to the city.
There they were to meet.
But then a hindrance befel them.

3081. AS. Chr. 876 (877).

They were in danger at sea,
A hundred and forty ships
Went to the devils;
And king Ælfred, when he heard it,
Sent for his men and his people.
Then it happened (it could no other be)
He laid siege to Exeter,
And the heathen who were settled there
Had suffered for want of their friends
Whom they had lost in the fleet,
And of their good company.
Therefore, when they could hold out no longer,
They held a parley to save themselves.
They gave such hostages
As the English asked.
Then they swore to keep the peace;
They would always serve the king.
When they had done this, they went to Mercia.
Between them they divided that kingdom.
They gave Ceolwulf a share,
Who had been king of all.

Then, at Christmas, the cruel Danes,
Who had before sworn peace,
Broke the peace, the faithless men.
Into Wessex they went again.
At Chippenham they established themselves.
Willingly they did evil.
Churches they destroyed and houses,
Chapels and monks.
They drove the people out of the country.
Many they put in prison.
King Ælfred, who was their lord,
Knew not what to do nor say.
From all parts he sent for men,

3105. 120 ships. AS. Chr. 877 (878).
3125 On Twelfth night. AS. Chr. 878 (879).

But could gather very few.
When he saw that he was so beset,
And so evil handled by his enemies,
He kept to the woods and deserts,
To escape their bloody hands.
And nevertheless, when he could,
With all the men he had,
He met them twice.
Often he slew some of them.
A brother of Ingvar and Healfdene
Was killed in Penwood.
Ubba was his name, an evil doer.
Over him the Danes made
A great mound, when they found him.
They called it Ubbelawe.
The mound is in Devonshire.
There was great slaughter of folk.
Eight hundred and forty died there.
What matter? felons, perjurers, they were.
Taken was the war flag
Of Ubba, called the Raven.

After Easter this year,
With few folk, with great trouble,
Good king Ælfred built
A fort at Athelney.
He had a stronghold made there,
By which he gave the Danes trouble.
Four weeks after Easter
He rode to Ecbryht's stone,
Which is to the east of Selwood.
Ceolmer met him and Chude

3148. Asser, in the *De Gestis Ælfredi, s.a.*, 878, states that this battle was *ante arcem Cynuit* in Devonshire, now called Kenny (Kinuith) Castle on the Taw, near Appledore.

3158. The Raven was embroidered by Ubba's three sisters. Asser, *loc. cit.*

3166. Ecbryhtes stane is generally taken to be Brixton Deverill, Wilts.

With the thanes of Somerset,
Of Wiltshire and Dorset.
From Hampshire came Chilman,
Who had summoned the thanes.
And those came who had remained
This side of the sea, who had not fled.
And when they saw their lord,
Greatly they praised the Creator,
Because they had found him alive.
For he had been long lost,
And they thought in their hearts
That the Danes had killed him.
They took great comfort of their king,
That he was alive and not dead.
Then they took counsel,
King Ælfred and his faithful ones,
That they rode all night,
And the next day, as far as they could.
Then they went that night
Till they arrived at Iley.
And the next day at the hour of nones
They came to Edington.
There they found the Danes.
King Ælfred fought.
But I cannot say by guess
Of whom was the greater number killed;
Whether of the Danes or the English;
But this I know well, that there the good king
Ælfred then had the victory,
And his thanes, with great honour.
Afterwards he often rode against them,
And made many attacks on them.

3188. Æcglea, Asser de Gestis Ælfredi *loc. cit.* Iglea, Æglea, AS. Chr. 878 (879). Thorpe gives Iley as the modern name, but I can find no such place between Brixton Deverill and Edington or Heddington.

3190. Edington, near Westbury, not far from which place (on Bratton Hill) is a white horse said to be in memory of this battle.

In fifteen days he so daunted them,
These Danes I tell you of,
That they had a parley; they agreed together,
And gave good hostages,
And swore, however many they were,
That they would never desert him.
And still more they promised him,
And asked him for Christianity.
And the king said, when he heard this,
That he would do it willingly.
He gave them a day to return,
Twenty-eight days, a whole month.
They came on that day.
They brought their lord;
King Guthorm, they brought him.
And the nearest of his kin
Came with him to baptism.
Thirty were there when he was signed with the cross.
The king presented them,
Gave them names and good angels.
At the font, king Guthorm
Was then called Æthelstan,
And the thirty his companions
Each for himself changed names.
At Aller they were baptised,
Made Christians and crossed.
It is near Athelney
That this assembly was held.
At Wedmore was the chrism loosing.
And twelve days they tarried there
With Ælfred the noble king,
Who honourably entertained them.
And he and his good companions

3218. *primsener.* See v. 1204.

3229. The original reading for *dous abez* (desabez, D.) was perhaps *desliez*, a translation of *crism lising* in the AS. Chr. 878 (879).

Gave them many rich gifts.
Then had from the Nativity
The ages lasted eight hundred years
And nineteen years more,
As is testified in the books
From which the wise men have knowledge,
Who know true history.

At this time, thus saith my master,
King Gurmund came to Cirencester.
Then he sent for the host
From Chippenham, which soon came.
And they came, they did not tarry.
All the winter they sojourned there.
Then in the summer, in the month of April,
They sent many wretches into exile.
From Cirencester they departed.
They went into East Anglia.
King Gurmund, by his counsel,
Placed rulers in that land.
After this, he sent an order
For the host which was at Fulham.
They met him by the sea.
Everywhere he ordered throughout his empire
That he who would not come
Should die an ill death.
He gathered more than a hundred kings,
With their great host, with their armour,
At Yarmouth they went to sea,

3237. Nineteen should be seventy-nine.

3242. It is not clear whom Gaimar means by *mi meistre*. The AS. Chr. 879 (880), 880 (881) mentions the army (*i.e.* the Danes) going from Cirencester to East Anglia, and *s. a.*, 890 (891), the death of Guthorm who had occupied East Anglia. See v. 3381. But Gurmund is the name of a Dane who ravaged Normandy, and was killed in 882. (Dom Bouquet, viij., 273–4.) The account of the French raid does not follow the chronology of the AS. Chr.

3254. AS. Chr. 880 (881).

And arrived at Chezy.
They hauled their ships on land;
They thought to have no more need of them.
Then they wasted all that country
To the land of St. Valery.
On they went, they entered Ponthieu.
The country people mourned.
Then they desecrated St. Riquier:
They broke the crucifixes,
They spread over the whole country.
Many lords and many men they killed there.
Because this country was fertile,
Gurmund sojourned there long.
But his great host went forward.
They did not stop till they came to Ghent.
There they were all the winter time.
Much evil they did in every way.
And the French gathered slowly.
They sought Gurmund till they found him.
There they fought with him;
He was slain, the French conquered.
And the host, which had gone forward,
And had sojourned at Ghent,
Turned back thence and came to France.
I think the French will fight,
So they did. But they had few men,
And too much rashness.
All without their king, they fought.
They lost much of their gear.
King Louis was wounded;
Therefore they were discomfited.
And by the wound which he received

3262. According to the AS. Chr. the Danes went up the Maese in 882, and up to the Marne to Chezy in 887.
3276. AS. Chr. 880 (881).
3282. A.D. 882, Hariulfus. Dom Bouquet, viij., 273.

He long languished and then died.
The heathen went forward.
They found France without protection.
But most of the French
Had made Carloman their lord;
And some would oppose him.
Of two counsels they took the worse.
For if they had held together
They would soon have destroyed the heathen folk.
Because they made war against the king,
And the Danes wasted the land,
France was in evil plight,
Till the heathen made their entrance
Into a country towards Brittany;
Scantland was its name, now it is Le Maine.
This people and the Bretons
Fought with the felons.
There, thanks to God, the King of Glory,
They had the victory over the Danes.
There were the heathen destroyed,
That all their pride and their fame
Fell together in one day.
To France they never returned.

Meanwhile, while the war
Was such in that land,
King Ælfred, in his kingdom,
Defeated his enemies well.
Oft he fought on the sea,
And slew many of the Danes.
And he accomplished and procured
So much by his goodness

3294. 4 August, 882.

3298. Gaimar follows the AS. Chr. in writing Charles for Carloman.

3308. The Editor of the Mon. Brit. alters Scantland to Scantlaud, and interprets it as St. Lo in the diocese of Coutances. The AS. Chr. 890 (891) reads Sant Landan, Sand Loðan, and Scantlaudan.

That Marinus sent to him
Some of the cross on which Christ was slain.
Marinus was then pope of Rome.
He did him so much honour with good gifts,
Such relics he sent him,
That he would never die by arms.
And Æthelswith was his sister,
She went to Rome with the honour
With which Ælfred sent her.
There she died. She could go no further.
Her body lies at Pavia,
Where she was buried.
Then it happened, and so much the worse,
That a wild boar killed Carloman.
The king died, but one of his brothers
Died also before their father.
Both were sons of Louis,
Who had killed Gurmund.
And Louis was son of Charles,
Who gave his daughter to the noble
King Æthelwulf [who] had her for queen.
No lady had better learning.

Now I have told you this relationship;
Then a great loss befell Rome,
Of Marinus, the good pope
Who first enfranchised the English school.
By the procurement of king Ælfred
It was free, God be praised.

3325. AS. Chr. 883 (884).
3331. AS. Chr. 888 (889).
3338. Charles in text and Karl in AS. Chr. 885 (886). He died 6 December 884.
3342. This is a mistake of Gaimar's. It was Louis III., brother of Carloman, not Louis le Bégue, his father, who slew Gurmund. (Hariulfus, *loc. cit.*)
3343. Charles the Bald, whose daughter Judith married Æthelwulf.
3349. AS. Chr. 885 (886).

At this time befel also
Such adventures as I tell you.
King Ælfred warred much.
He went often against the heathen.
These Danes who took truce
In the end abused them much.
And above all those of East Anglia
Always began the noise.
They journeyed to London,
Where heathen were dwelling.
Danes held the city.
What then did king Ælfred?
Everywhere he sent for horsemen,
And for footmen and archers.
Thus he sent for his friends,
And for the English far in the country.
Far and near he sent for all.
He gathered a very great force.
He came to London and besieged it.
He stayed there till he took it.
Then he established the city,
As the thanes had advised.
To Æthered, one of his thanes,
He gave the keeping thereof.
And he guarded it faithfully,
And defended it from the foreigners.
This year died the king
Whom Ælfred had formerly presented at the font.
The heathen called him Guthorm.
Then he had Æthelstan for his name.
His body lies at Thetford.
There was this dead man buried.

3373. AS. Chr. 886 (887).
3381. AS. Chr. 890 (891).
3384. According to Asser's Annals, he was buried "in villa regia quæ vocatur Headleaga apud Orientales Anglos." (Mon. Brit. 482 n.)

THEN was Ælfred much increased in power
When he had conquered this city.
And the Danes who lived far off
Feared him for his prowess.
All the lands which he held
At this time were at peace.
But there went about threatening greatly
These Danes of Northumberland,
And those of East Anglia and Mercia
Gladly gave him trouble.
But this king so overcame them
That he then held his kingdoms in peace.
Then it came to pass, at this time,
That the heathen host returned
Which had gone to France.
They had wasted it all.
The other host which was separated from this
Had left them in Le Maine.
But this host was separated
Until Gurmund arrived.
It left him, went on,
Passed through all France,
Back it went towards the west,
Robbing and destroying the people.
Now they had gathered enough,
Gold and silver, horses of price.
At Cherbourg they put to sea;
At Lympne they landed.
This is a water on the head of Kent,
On the east, which men call Orient;
Andredesweald stretches away.
This water of Lympne is very deep.
This wood is reckoned in length
Forty-two measured leagues.

3392. AS. Chr. 894.
3411. Bunan (Boulogne) in the AS. Chr. 893 (892).

And thirty leagues in length.
Lympne runs through it at ease.
Into this water the Danes came.
This was in the time of king Ælfred.
Up the water they towed their ships.
They went four leagues
From the mouth of the Lympne.
All the country along the sea
These enemies then destroyed.
Very unlucky was their return.
They had a hundred and sixty ships
Their sojourn did much evil.
On the other side Hæsten returned
Into Thames on a full flood.
He did much of his will in Kent.
At Milton he built a fort.
He sent for the host which came from France.
At Appledore was their sojourn.

When these two hosts were assembled
They went about destroying Christendom.
Then it happened, as God pleased,
Ælfred died, who had fought against them.
DCCCCI. Then from the Nativity,
From the day that God was born,
There were nine hundred years and one more
Death of Ælfred. Till Ælfred died there.
He reigned full eight and twenty years.
Few such men are living.
For wise he was and a good warrior.
Well he knew to baffle his foes.
No better clerk there was than he,
For he had learnt in infancy.
He caused to be written a book in English
Of adventures, and of laws;

3429. 250 ships. AS. Chr. 893 (892).
3444 Alfred died 26 October 901. AS. Chr.

And of battles in the land,
And of kings who made war.
Many books he had written,
In which good clerks often read.
God have mercy on his soul,
And St. Mary, the sweet lady.

THEN reigned Eadward his son, Eadward.
The brave, the wise, the noble.
But still there was much war
In many places in England,
For there were many kings.
Thus the Danes warred,
And their strength waxed daily
By those who often came over sea.
So in the sixth year that Eadward reigned,
When he could not avoid it,
He determined to make a truce
And give peace to the Danes.
And yet it did not last long:
The Danes were of very evil nature.
They warred so hard upon the English
That king Eadward fought against them.
With the English he had gathered
He beat them at Tettenhall.

AT this time a king died;
Æthered, who reigned over the Mercians.
This Æthered held London.
King Ælfred had placed him there.
He had it not as an inheritance.
When about to die, he did what was wise,
To king Eadward he gave up his right,
With all that belonged thereto.
London he gave up before he was dead,

3470. AS. Chr. 906.
3476. 6 August 910. AS. Chr.
3477. The AS. Chr. calls him "ealdorman on Myrcum." AS. Chr. 912.

And the city of Oxford.
And the land and the counties
Which belonged to the cities.
In this year came a fleet
Which made great slaughter in the country.
From the Lidwiccas came this host.
It spread along the Severn.
King Eadward went against them.
Many he killed. Then he returned.
When he had reigned eighteen years
He received Mercia in fee.
Æthelflæd, his sister, inherited it,
As king Ælfred had commanded.
As she had no children
When she died, she made him her heir.
Three years after king Sihtric,
Who held the other part of Mercia,
Foully slew his brother Niel.
King Eadward avenged his death.
He killed Sihtric with a sword.
Then was he king of the country.
A year after, by the record,
Ragnald won York.
He was a half Danish king.
By his mother he was English.
Eadward wished to go against him
So he gathered a host.
Death of Eadward. But then he died; it could no other be.
He was buried at Winchester.

3489. AS. Chr. 915 (918).
3491. Thorpe suggests (AS. Chr., p. 67, n) that Lidwiccas, the word which Gaimar translates Lidwiche, is derived from Llydaw, the British name of Brittany, especially as Florence of Worcester (*s.a.* 885) translates *butan Lidwiccum*, as *absque Armoricano regno*.
3500. 12 June. AS. Chr. 918.
3501. AS. Chr. 921.
3504. The AS. Chr. 926 does not mention the cause of Sihtric's death.
3508. AS. Chr. 923.
3513. AS. Chr. 925.

THEN reigned his son Æthelstan. 3515 King Æthelstan.
When he had reigned to the fourth year
He fought a battle against the Danes,
And defeated king Guthfrith.
Then he assembled great force
And put a great fleet to sea. 3520
Straight to Scotland he went.
He harried that country sorely.
A year after, neither less nor more,
At Brunanburh he had the better
Of the Scots, the men of Cumberland, 3525
The Welsh, and the Picts.
There so many were killed
I think it will ever be spoken of.
Afterwards he only lived three years. Death of Æthelstan.
He had no son or other children. 3530
His brother they then made king.
Eadmund was his name, a good man I trow. King Eadmund.
And the third year that he reigned
He led his host beyond Humber.
Two kings there were, cruel Danes. 3535
One was named King Anlaf (Olaf),
The other was called Ragnald.
He drove them out of the kingdom.
When he had done this he went on.
A great prey he took in Cumberland. 3540
He held his land three years more;
Then God did his will with him. Death of Eadmund.
Eadred, his brother, reigned. King Eadred.
He well revenged his brother Eadmund.
He avenged him on his enemies 3545

3517. AS. Chr. 927.
3521. AS. Chr. 933.
3524. AS. Chr. 937 (938).
3529. Æthelstan died 27 October. AS. Chr. 940.
3534. AS. Chr. 943.
3542. Eadmund died 26 May. AS. Chr. 946.

Who had slain him by murder.
Then he seized Northumberland,
And the Scotch were subject to him.

When he reigned the second year
Then came Anlaf Cwiran (Olaf Kvaran).
He seized and took Northumberland.
He found no one to defend it.
Three years this Dane held it.
Then the Northumbrians drove him out.
They received Yric, Harald's son.
They promised to hold their fiefs of him.
Two years he reigned in this kingdom.
Then the third year they drove him out.

Death of Eadred.

Eadred then received it;
But he died a year after.

King. Eadwig.

Then it befel that in this kingdom
The English made Eadwig their king.
After Eadred, Eadwig was king.
He was the son of Eadmund, an Englishman.

Death of Eadwig.

His rule went everywhere.
He only lived three years.

King Eadgar.

Afterwards Eadgar, his brother, reigned.
He held the land as an emperor.
In his time he bettered the land.
He had peace everywhere, there was no war.
He alone ruled over all the kings,
And over the Scotch and the Welsh.
Never since Arthur departed
Had any king such power.
The king much loved Holy Church.
Of wrong and of right, he knew the manner.
Therefore he set himself to do good;
For he was free and courteous.

3550. AS. Chr. 949.
3554. AS. Chr. 952.
3558. AS. Chr. 954.
3562. AS. Chr. 955.
3566. AS. Chr. 958.

He raised good customs.
All his neighbours were attached to him.
By fair love and by entreaty
He bound them all to him.
Never was anyone found to war with him,
Nor any who entered his land for ill,
Except Thored, who rebelled.
He seized Westmoreland from him.
For this wrong he received death.
Woe to him for beginning a wrongful war.
This king was wise and valiant.
By his queen he had many fair children.
One son he had of whom I can tell.
This was Eadward of Shaftesbury;
And his daughter was named St. Edith (Eadgith),
The lady whom God blessed.
Besides he had three other sons.
From three mothers they were born.
Three mothers had these three.
The king was fond of women.
When his wife died,
He ruined his life through women.
A rich man lived in the kingdom, Ordgar.
His wife, I know, was dead.
God had given her one daughter.
No other child was left to him.
Ordgar was the name of this rich man.
From Exeter to Frome

3585. Thored, son of Gunner. AS. Chr. 966.

3592. So called because he was buried there. See William of Malmesbury. Gesta Regum, Lib. ii., c. 9.

3601. AS. Chr. 965. This only states the fact of Eadgar's marriage with Ælfthryth. William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Lib. ii., c. 8) gives the story, though not in such detail as Gaimar. Florence of Worcester puts it in 964.

3605. A thighbone, said to be Ordgar's, measuring 21 inches, an unusual length, used to be shown at Tavistock. Gent. Mag. lxv. 1081, and Gent. Mag. Library, Archæology, p. 160 n.

Was no town nor city
In which Ordgar had not possessions.
But he was a marvellous old man.
What his daughter counselled him,
What she did or what she commanded to do,
No man was found who dared dissuade him from.
Ælfthryth was the name of this maiden.
None under heaven was so fair, I trow.
For her beauty through the country,
Great was her renown.
And as they talked of her there,
Those of the court went thither.
And the courtiers who saw her
Spoke much of her beauty.

King Eadgar had listened
How men spoke of her beauty.
Often he had heard her praised;
Of her beauty he heard so much said
That he thought, and said in himself
" Although here I am king,
" And she is daughter of a thane,
" I see no difference.
" Her father was an earl's son,
" Her mother sprang from noble kings,
" She is of high birth enough,
" I can take her without shame."
Then he called a knight,
He took him for his counsellor,
He held him very dear, he had brought him up.
He opened to him what he thought.
" Æthelwold, brother," said the king,
" I will tell you my secret.
" I love Ælfthryth, the daughter of Ordgar.
" By all people I have heard her so praised,
" And her beauty so valued,
" That I would make her my wife.
" If she were such, and I knew it,

" And was assured of her beauty.
" Therefore, I pray you, go and see her,
" What you say of her, I will take as true.
" I trust you well. Do my bidding.
" Tarry not, but soon return."

He went away to make ready.
He did not stop, nor did he tarry,
Till he came to Devonshire,
To the house of lord Ordgar.
On behalf of the king he saluted him.
On all sides was he welcomed.

Ordgar was playing at chess,
A game which he learnt from the Danes.
With him played Ælfthryth the fair.
Under heaven was no such damsel.
The whole day he stayed there;
And Æthelwold observed her much.
He looked so often at her face and complexion,
Her body, and hands, the fair flower,
That he deemed well she was a fairy;
That she was not born of woman.
And when he saw her of such beauty
He was so inflamed by passion
That he thought in his heart,
Whether it turned to gain or loss,
He would say nothing to his lord
Of the truth, this traitor.
So he would say that she was not so fair.
Far [from the truth] he described the noble damsel,
Which came back to him three years after,
For he died all unconfessed.
Thence he returned, went to the king,
To a council which he held.
Earls there were, thanes, and franklins,
Archbishops, bishops, and abbots.
Listen what this deceiver did.
He came to the king after dinner;

Well was he greeted and welcomed;
But he before had spoken
To those who were well with the king,
And who knew this secret.
He begged them to help him,
And that they would ask for him the daughter of Ordgar.
And well he made them all believe
That she was misshapen, ugly, and dark.
Before the king he kneeled,
Privily he showed him:
" King, of the lady to whom I went,
" I will tell you the truth.
" Whoever has lied, I will speak truth.
" You ought not to have such a wife,
" An appearance and a look she has
" Which ill become her.
" Other faults I saw enough,
" Where I marked no beauties.
" To a man of my rank
" It would not be great damage
" If he took her and kept her honour,
" And did her father much honour."
On all sides they said to the king—
" What he says has been said to me.
" It is not well that you should take her,
" Give her to a bachelor."

THE king was merry, he had drunk too much.
Lightly they deceived him.
To Æthelwold he began to speak;
He trusted quite that he had told him the truth.
" Friend," said he, " I believe you quite,
" As she is such that I ought not to have her
" I give her you with all the honour.

3701. I take *honur* here to mean Ælfthryth's inheritance. See vv. 3713, 3926.

" Make her father thy lord,
" Care for him well, as a father-in-law.
" Marry her, then come back to me."
The king was holding a wand,
He held it out to him and made the grant,
And he swore fealty to him.
In this place he perjured himself.
A man who betrays has no law,
Nor should any one trust in his faith.
This traitor turned from the king;
Like a felon he had duped him.
He came to Ordgar, he betrayed him,
Took his daughter, seized the honour.
In this country he tarried so long,
That the lady was pregnant with a son.
But the fair lady, if she could
Would never have been pregnant by Æthelwold.
She did not love him. It had been told her
How the king had been deceived,
He himself, all indiscreetly,
Had discovered this to Ælfthryth.
At the right time the infant was born.
Hear what this faithless man did,
Because he still feared
The king, who was very gay.
He came to him and begged him
To hold this child at the font.
When he had done this she was his sister,
Then he had no fear of the king.

The king was free and gentle.
He did not see through this.
Of the wicked felon he did not beware,
He had nourished him, therefore he loved him.
Till it happened at a supper,
The king heard the woman spoken of.
On every side they praised her much,

These knights who spoke of her,
And said in their tale
That in the whole world there was none so fair,
And if she had still been a maid,
She was well worthy to be queen.
Then they spoke of her wit,
And that which she understood;
That she was both fair and wise,
And of free courage in speaking;
That never any man envy,
Nor mockery, nor villany,
Could find at all in her;
She was wise to restrain herself.
The king marvelled exceedingly.
He heard this ofttimes said,
He said to himself in his heart
" This Æthelwold has fooled me, I trow."
For Ælfthryth he was very pensive,
Henceforth he would go from bad to worse.

King Eadgar determined
That he would go to Devonshire.
To hunt stags he said that he would go,
But he intended quite otherwise in his heart.
He was not far from that country.
Many a man makes a longer day's journey.
Ælfthryth was at a manor,
Where the king arrived the evening of the next day.
It was near the wood where he would hunt.
At night he went there to lodge,
And when it was time that he should sup,
Still shone clear the sun.
Then he asked for his *commère*,

3781. There is no English word to express the affinity between the parent and the godfather or godmother of the child.

Where she was, where her father was.
Æthelwold said, "In this upper room,
"You have fasted too long, king, come and eat."
The king heard, he perceived
That if Æthelwold could, he should not see her.
Then he took a knight by the hand,
And went into the upper room.
Ladies, maids, many he found there,
To none of them he spoke.
He knew Ælfthryth by her beauty,
And she welcomed the king.
She was veiled in a wimple.
The king drew it from her head.
Then he smiled and looked at her,
And then kissed his *commère*.
From this kiss sprang love.
Ælfthryth was the flower of the others.
The king in play and jest
Raised the fold of her mantle.
Then he saw her figure so slender.
For a little he was amazed
By the beauty he saw there.
To the hall he led her;
Together they sat at meat.
They drank healths at the removes.
And the custom was such
That great was his worth who drank well.
With cups of gold, with mazers,
With oxhorns full of wine,
Was the wassail and the drinkhail,
Till Eadgar fell asleep.
And when the lady drank with him
He kissed her, as was the custom.
She kissed him innocently.
But the king was inflamed.
If he had not her love in another way,

He would take a further device;
The further device he took
Of one who takes a woman from her parent.
THAT night the king lay in peace.
Such a woman he never saw before.
In his heart he thinks if he does not have her,
Then he will die, never will he be healed.
Then he seeks a plan, and an evil thought,
That he could often speak with her.
On his love he is bent.
Now he seeks a plan, as he had decided.
In that country he hunted in the woods.
He sent her some of the stags he took,
Other presents he made her in plenty.
Three times he went to her.
When he departed from the country,
He left her inflamed.
She had heard and understood well
That the king meant to take her.
He stayed only eight days.
At Salisbury was the court.
Many great thanes met there.
Many thanes of high rank came
To protect the land.
The king had summoned them.
With the others came Æthelwold.
The king did what he would with him.
He sent him to York.
He entrusted to him the northern land.
He should rule all beyond Humber,
And they should do his commands.
Hastily and without delay,
He went to set the land in order.
He received such writs as he would.
Then Dan Æthelwold departed.
In this journey that he took

I know not what folk he met.
Outlaws they were and enemies.
Then and there was this felon killed.
Some said that this company
Was sent against him by king Eadgar,
But none knew, who dared say,
That they were so, who went to kill him.
To the king came the news.
He could not then take vengeance,
For he found none to tell him
Who had done this, or who had killed him.
Then he sent to seize his fief.
He caused Ælfthryth to come to court.
She must come to court speedily.
The king would tell her his will.
She only tarried a month.
At Gloucester was the king;
With him were the kings of Wales.
Many knights he had in the halls.
Then came Ælfthryth and her company,
Who were richly attired.
All the thanes of Somerset,
Of Devonshire and of Dorset,
And the earls of Cornwall,
Came with her to the gathering.
For this they did it, that it was their right.
Each of them held a great fief of her.
They were tenants of her father's fief.
Of her kin she brought many.
What shall I say of her attire?
She had a ring on her finger
Which was worth more alone
Than all her dress.
She wore a cape of black silk

3856. William of Malmesbury says that Eadgar killed Æthelwold with his own hand.

Which trailed along the hall.
Over this she wore a mantle,
Within, grey fur, without, blue.
Of other such stuff was her robe.
She was very fair. For this, what matters it?
Ho, says Gaimar, I will not go about to speak
Of her beauty, for delay.
If I said all the truth
From morn one day till evening
I should not have said nor related
The third part of her beauty.

THE king rose, went to meet her,
Took her by the hand. When he held it
He was very joyful; he led her
And lodged her in a chamber.
He would not lodge her far off.
Under heaven there was nothing he held so dear.
The next day he made prepare
His household clerks in a minster
Very early in the morning.
Now he meant to bring the matter to an end.
He had Ælfthryth the fair brought there.
He married her in the chapel.
Then he sent for his thanes,
And summoned them by lawful ban.
None there were who dared disregard it,
And not be that day at his table.
For the joy that he meant to have
The king had himself richly clothed.
He put on his royal raiment.
He loved Ælfthryth much and was glad.
For likewise he had her clothed,
And crowned and well served.
The king wore a crown of gold.

3893. *Rois* is probably from the verb *roer*=*rotare*. (Burguy III., 323.)

He held a feast and gave great gifts.
Two bishoprics, and three abbeys,
Religious orders and lordships
He founded that day.
To several disinherited men he restored their honours.
To all the folk he so behaved
That none hated him, all loved him.
Thus he held feast in his halls.
Much he honoured the kings of Wales.
They bore the three swords,
As clerks erst had ordered,
And had found writings,
Thus they agreed.
I cannot tell all the circumstances,
Nor the splendour of the feast.
But so much I tell you, as tells the story.
Splendour there was and great bravery.

It was not more than a month after this
That king Eadgar was in London.
In his bed he lay, he and the Queen.
Around them was a curtain
Delicately wrought of crimson cloth.
Behold archbishop Dunstan
Very early came into the room.
Against the bedpost inlaid with vermilion,
The archbishop leaned.
To the king he spoke in English.
He asked who that was
Who lay with him in his bed.
The king answered, "It is the queen
" Ælfthryth, to whom this kingdom is attached."
Said the archbishop, "That is false.
" Better it were that you were dead

Saint Dunstan.

3940. This incident does not appear in any of the Lives of Dunstan edited by the bishop of Chester in the Rolls Series.

3946. *Lambre* may be the French for *lamina*.

" Than to lie thus in adultery,
" Your souls will go to torment."
When the queen heard this
She was wroth with the archbishop.
She became so sore his enemy
That she never loved him more in her life.
He cared not, he would not
That man did wrong and left the right.
Oftentimes he warned them,
And entreated them to separate.
His preaching was no good;
He loved her. She held him dear.
He afterwards had a son by her.
He called him Æthelred,
On account of his ancestor, a great king,
Who was named Æthelred.
But thus it befel when he was born
St. Swithun died.
And when the child was six years old
Death of Eadgar. Then died the valiant Eadgar.
EADWARD, his son, reigned after him.
This was a king whom God loved.
But in his time, on account of his youth,
Foreign folk gave him trouble,
Whom his father had brought
Into his kingdom. He had done wrong.
And his stepmother, who was living,
Who had the strength of the kingdom,
For the advancement of her line,
Had a great outrage committed on the king;

3968. Florence of Worcester (*s.a.* 964) says that they had two sons, Eadmund and Æthelred.

3972. St. Swithun died in 861, according to the AS. Chr. Gaimar has apparently mistaken the removal of his body from the churchyard to the interior of the Cathedral at Winchester, for his burial. This was in 970, according to Florence of Worcester. The AS. Chr. does not mention this translation.

3974. Eadgar died 8 July 975. (AS. Chr.)

And for her son who was growing up,
Whom she wished to make king.
King Eadward reigned two years.
Now I will tell you how he died.
He was one day merry and gay.
In Wiltshire he had dined.
He had a dwarf named Wolstanet
Who could dance and play.
He could leap and pipe,
And play many other tricks.
The king saw him, called him,
And ordered him to play.
The dwarf said he would not,
He would not play at his order.
And when the king asked him more gently,
And he railed against the king,
The king grew very wroth with him.
Wolstanet then fled;
He took his horse, he found him ready,
He went to Ælfthryth's house,
It was only one league off.
This was very near Somerset.
There was a thick and great wood.
The dwarf went thither, pricking hard.
The king mounted, and followed him
On a horse which he found ready.
He never stopped galloping.
He wished to see the dwarf play.
To the house of Ælfthryth he turned.
He asked who had seen his dwarf.
He found few people in the house;
None said to him either yea or nay,
Except the Queen, who came forth
From her chamber, and replied
" Sir, he has never come here,

3987. *Dusze* is perhaps a mistake for *deux*, as Eadward reigned less than three years, dying on 18 March 978. AS. Chr. 978 (979)

" Stay with us, good king, dismount.
" If it please you, king, rest yourself,
" I will call your folk to come to me.
" I will send to seek Wolstanet.
" I think verily I shall find him."
The king replied, " Thanks to you,
" I cannot dismount here."
" Sir," said she " then drink
" All on horseback, if you love me."
" Gladly," replied the king
" But first you must drink to me."
The butler filled a horn
Of good clear wine, then handed it to her.
She drank the half of the full horn.
She put it in king Eadward's hand.
On giving her the horn, he should have kissed her.
Then came some foe, I know not who,
With a great knife, ground sharp.
To the heart he smote the king with it.
The king fell down, uttered a cry,
The horse started,
Thus bleeding, as he was,
With saddle, with bridle, as God would,
And Saint Eadward, towards Cirencester.
There is the saddle, there it should be.
And the holy body of this martyr
The Queen caused to be buried far off.
To a moor it was carried
Where no man had come.
There was the king covered with reeds.
But he rested not long there.
The king's company came following,
Seeking him at Ælfthryth's house.
She hid from them, because it was said
That the queen had murdered him.

4043. Richard of Devizes says the horse stopped at Shaftesbury, and the saddle was there.

That night, as he lay in the moor,
A light from Heaven shone.
Clear was the ray, no wonder,
It was much like the sun.
On the holy body this ray came,
And the other end was in Heaven.
Many sought what this could be.
Then a wise priest saw it.
He was parson of Donhead.
He told them the truth straightway:
" Now seek and go,
" You will find a holy martyr."
The Holy Spirit had revealed this to him
By a voice which he heard.
Early in the morning in the country,
Through many places the report went
That all should go thither,
Where king Eadward was murdered.
All the lame who came thither,
And the blind and the deaf, were made whole.
To Shaftesbury was he carried.
There is he cherished and honoured.

King Æthelred.

Now Ælfthryth made Æthelred king
(The boy was only sixteen years old)
By the power of her kin.
Before the altar of St. Vincent
At Winchester they made him king.
St. Dunstan died, I trow,
The archbishop of Canterbury.
He absolved Ælfthryth from the great wrath.
As he was dying, he pardoned her,
And enjoined her penance.

4064. H. reads *en eire*. *Eire* is not a rare form of *erre*=way. *En vaire* probably means " in truth."
4078. AS. Chr. 979 states that he was hallowed king at Kingston.
4082. AS. Chr. 988.

At Wherwell she did penance;
She served God well, and died there.
There is the body, so says the story.
The nuns do in her memory,
Masses, matins, and services,
And prayers in many ways.
Now may God do his pleasure with her,
He has power to save her.

During the time that Æthelred reigned
Dunstan departed, as God would,
And after him Æthelgar was archbishop.
To serve God he mortified his body.
Then Sigeric was archbishop.
When he departed Ælfric was [archbishop].
Ælfric they received and elected,
With great honour they placed him in the throne.
These were the archbishops in this place
When Æthelred was king.
He had an elder brother,
Who was called Eadmund.
He claimed the land,
He desired to take it from him.
The Welsh were his friends,
For his wife was of their country.
She was daughter of a king of the land.
With him they kept up the war.
On the other side, the kinsfolk
From whom king Eadward was born,
On the side of his mother, hated him,

4087. William of Malmesbury speaks of her penitence at Wherwell. Lib. ii., c. 9.

4097. AS. Chr. 988.

4099. AS. Chr. 990.

4100. AS. Chr. 995.

4106. Eadmund Æthelings death is mentioned in the AS. Chr. as occurring in 972 (970), and it is not clear to what this passage in Gaimar refers.

And waged great war against him.
And the Scotch, and the Picts,
The Welsh, and the Cumbrians,
Would not deign to hold of him,
And had no care to serve him.

When the king saw that it fared so ill,
He held a meeting of his friends.
He asked advice, need was great.
They were taking away all his kingdom.
Then these men advised
That he should cross the sea straightway,
Ask for Emma, Richard's sister,
And bring her thence.
If the Normans are his friends,
He could easily subdue his enemies.
Earl Richard would support him.
He would subdue all his neighbours.
He quite believed in their advice.
He neither tarried nor rested
Till he had married Emma.
Earl Richard gave her to him,
To England he led her.
He gave her Winchester in dower,
Rockingham, and Rutland,
Which Ælfthryth had had before.
All he gave her, dear he held her.
At this time king Swegen (Svein) came
To claim and to conquer.
Those of the country received him.
Earl Uhtred of Lindsey
Submitted to him and his fleet,

4129. The AS. Chr. (1002) mentions Æthelred's marriage with Emma, but not his journey to Normandy.

4142. According to the AS. Chr. Swegen first came to England in 994. He took Wilton in 1003, Norwich in 1004, and received the submission of Earl Uhtred and the Northumbrians, and the people of Lindsey in 1013.

And those beyond Humber also.
Thus did after all the folk
Who then were in England.
He found little war at any time;
All he seized and all he took,
Never any man withstood him,
For Æthelred had no aid.
So he fled to Normandy,
He and his wife and his two sons.
Richard received them well.

When King Swegen had conquered all
And saw that the country was his,
He went to Gainsborough,
And for a while tarried there.
While tarrying there he departed.
At York was he buried:
But then after ten years or more
The Danes took up his bones;
They were carried to Norway,
To Saint Olaf, there were they laid.
In St. Peter's Minster he lay
When the Danes took him away.

King Cnut. And Cnut remained, who was Swegen's son,
Well and at ease for a whole year.
Then came a great host and a great fleet
With Æthelred from Normandy;
And the English and the Danes
Received him, and made him king.
Cnut when he heard it, departed.
Straightway he crossed the sea.
He assembled an host from many lands,
He cared not for peace, much he loved war.

4154. AS. Chr. 1013.

4159. Swegen's death, owing to a vision of St. Eadmund, is mentioned by Florence of Worcester, *Anno* 1014, and his burial at York by Simeon of Durham (Hist. Regum II., 146, Rolls Ed.).

4172. AS. Chr. 1014.

King Æthelred into Lindsey
Went recovering his dominion.
He took preys, ravaged the land,
And waged right cruel war.
And Cnut returned with his fleet.
He meant to land in Lindsey.
When he heard that Æthelred was there,
He sailed straight for the Thames.
He entered the mouth of the Frome:
All that country he turned to himself.
From all sides came the English;
They took Cnut for King.
King Æthelred came to London.
He fortified it well, he held himself there.
He had not wherewithal to fight
Against Cnut, therefore he shunned him.
There he said he would defend himself.
Then came Cnut and besieged him.
So long he stayed and waited
That King Æthelred died.
At St. Paul's there he lies.
He gave his treasure to the bishopric.
King Æthelred had a son.
The other two were children.
To Normandy they were carried,
For there were their kinsfolk.
Earl Richard was their uncle,
Who taught them and brought them up,
And the queen was at Winchester.
A fairer woman there could not be.
And Cnut reigned, he had conquered
On many sides the whole country.
But Eadmund the ætheling vexed him.
As much as he could he fought,

4187. AS. Chr. 1015.
4198. 23 April. AS. Chr. 1016.

He and his uncle, the other Eadmund,
Made a great war on Cnut.
Ill befel the other Eadmund.
Disease took him and held him so long
That he came to his end, and died.
He was buried at Hereford.
But this Eadmund gathered men,
And fought manfully.
With him the Welsh held.
He took [to wife] the sister of one of their kings.
And all those beyond Severn,
From Lancaster to Malvern,
Followed his call and his command.
And he went on fighting often with Cnut
Until all the Danes were gathered.
With their host they came against him.
Earl Thorkytel led that host.
The king's son went against him.
Then they came to Sherstone,
The morrow of St. John,
Where they fought a hard battle.
When some of the English failed
Their lords who had brought them there.
They went over to the Danes
By treason and felony.
Many a noble man there lost his life.
Eadric Streona deserted,
And many others whom he had brought up,

4215. It is not clear whom Gaimar means by this Eadmund.

4222. Eadmund Ironside married in 1015, according to the AS. Chr. Ealdgyth, the widow of Sigeferth, a thane of the Seven Burghs, *i.e.*, York, Chester, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby, the chief towns occupied by the Danes. Sigeferth was murdered by Eadric.

4231. AS. Chr. 1016. There is still an image on Sherstone Church which the people say is Old Rattlebones, one of the Danish Chiefs killed at this battle. It appears, however, to be the effigy of a man in civil dress, holding in his hand the model of some building, perhaps the church.

King Eadward, son of Æthelred.
And the Danes triumphed.
To Assandun (Assingdon) repairing
King Cnut led his host.
And Eadmund fought with him,
With few folk, but no man, I trow,
Struck better than he struck.
Whether he would or not he left the field.
By force the Welsh dragged him away.
The Danes had the victory.
Thus lasted for several days,
Between them two, war and strife,
Till the land was desolate
By their pride and their war.
The lords then consulted,
They talked together till they agreed.

At Deerhurst they met ;
There it was agreed between them.
They pledged themselves to a battle.
By their two bodies it was granted.
It was discussed and devised
How each should be armed.
Hawberk and helm, shield and axe,
Dagger, sword and good mace,
Steel leg harness, each should have,
When he came to battle.
Afterwards they said where this should be.
It was agreed to be at Gloucester.
Into mid Severn, in a ship
They brought them, fair and soft.
And the ship should be well moored,
Chained and fast bound
On both sides, that it might be firm
Right in the middle of the water.
This was the true device between them,
Thus they arranged the battle ;
And their two hosts should be on either side.

And they swore on both sides with solemnity,
And gave hostages and sureties.
So they agreed together,
And the battle should be fought ;
Whichever of the two conquered,
All should join him,
And permit him to reign over them.

At the day all were assembled.
The two kings were brought into the ship ;
And on both sides, on the bank,
Were the two armies, to watch.
All the ships of the city
Were brought down the river.
Six leagues off they took them,
As the lords ordered.
They did not wish that any ruffian
Should begin any strife there.
But by them two it should be tried,
Which God chose to have the kingdom.
At one end of the ship was Cnut,
Who was sprung from Danes.
At the other end was Eadmund,
Who belonged to the English.
They bowed in prayer ;
They kneeled a long time.
Then they stood up.
Each girded on his arms.

When they were ready
Each looked at the other.
Then spoke Cnut, very wisely,
And said, " Eadmund, stay a while,
" I am a Dane, and thou an Englishman,
" Our fathers both were kings,
" One held the land, and the other had it.

4305. Henry of Huntingdon says they began to fight. Hist. Angl. Lib. vi., cap. 13.

" Each did with it what he pleased.
" As long as they had it in their power,
" Each did his will with it.
" And know well, that long ago
" The Danes had it, my forefathers.
" Nearly a thousand years ago Dane had it,
" Before ever king Cerdic came there.
" Cerdic, he was your forefather,
" And king Dane was mine.
" Dane held it in chief from God.
" Modret gave Cerdic his fief,
" He never held it in chief.
" From him came your kin.
" Therefore I tell you, if you know it not,
" If you fight with me,
" One of us has the greater wrong.
" We do not know which will die.
" Therefore I will make you an offer,
" And will not go back from it.
" Let us divide the land right in two,
" You take one part,
" The other shall be left to me.
" Let neither you nor me complain.
" Then we will conquer that part,
" Of which neither I nor you hold any.
" As we conquer it
" Let us divide it between us,
" And let us be brothers in truth.
" I will swear to you, you swear to me,
" To keep this brotherhood,
" As if we were born of one mother,
" As if we were both brothers,
" Of one father and one mother;
" Also let there be hostages between us;
" Trust me, and I will trust you."
Eadmund stood on the other side.
In boldness he was like a leopard.

He heard the modesty and the justice
With which good king Cnut spoke.
He gave him answer most wisely.
"Will you carry out this talk?"
"Yes," said Cnut, "in truth,
"Let there be a pledge between us.
"Here I pledge you my faith,
"I will keep this covenant thus."
This covenant was pledged.
Behold all settled.
On this covenant they embraced.
These covenants were well kept.
On both sides all the lords
Praised God, those who were wise.
And the two kings called for boats.
Two little boats brought
Two fishermen, who lived there,
They were hidden in a ditch.

THE two kings came to their folk;
The next day the treaty was made,
For the land was divided
By the advice of the lords.
As the water of Thames runs,
They planned a just division,
And from the spot where it rises,
As far as the Foss. Thence it runs back,
And goes quite straight as far as the road
Which king Belin made,
Watling street. There straight,
All the west was divided.

WHEN the lords had done this
Neither of the two kings drew back.

4374. The Foss, according to Henry of Huntingdon, and the description of Britain appended to Gaimar, runs from Totness to Caithness. It passed through Ilchester, Bath, Cirencester, and Lincoln. Watling Street ran from Dover to Chester.

They made equal lots by right
That there might never be contention.
On the south Eadmund's share fell.
There was his uncle Saint Eadward.
And on the other side of Thames
King Cnut held right justice.
He had London, there was his seat.
York was in his kingdom.
And Eadmund had Canterbury,
And also Winchester and Salisbury,
And Gloucester and Dorchester,
And Cirencester and Exeter.
What shall I say of the two kingdoms?
Each was richly possessed.
Now they reigned more equally,
Than brothers or kinsfolk do.
And more they loved each other, I trow,
Than brothers do, these two.

When a traitor envied them,
Then this felon wrought his felony.
He invited Eadmund, and came to ask him,
To come and tarry with him,
He was his man. So much he prayed him
That King Eadmund tarried there.
Provision there was in great plenty,
But it was dearly bought:
He who gave it, spoiled it all,
For like a felon he murdered the king.
Eadric caused an engine to be made,
The bow which would not miss, he knew how to draw.

4381. *Caules* is some sort of rent (Godefroy). It may be that *ecaules* is a form of *égal*.

4383. The AS, Chr. simply says that Cnut took Mercia and Eadmund Wessex.

4410. Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. vi.) says that Eadric's son stabbed the king at Oxford. Florence of Worcester says he died at London,

If anything touched the string,
Soon would one hear bad news.
Even a bason (?), if it struck it,
It would split it with the arrow.
Where this bow was prepared
He had placed a new house.
Privy house they called it,
Men went there for that purpose.
The king was taken there at night,
As Eadric had commanded.
Directly he sat on the seat
The arrow struck him in the fundament.
It went up as far as the lungs.
The feather never showed
Of the arrow which was in his body,
And no blood came forth.
The king cried a death cry,
The soul fled from him, he was no more.
There was no recovery.
His folk carried him thence,
To a minster was he carried.
Much they read and sang,
And said matins and service.
May God, if it please him, do justice
On the evil felon, the traitor,
Who thus murdered his lord.
The king was honourably buried,
Interred and prayed for.
But his Queen did not know it.
She had two fair boys by him,

---

which city is mentioned by the AS. Chr. the line before, and has no doubt got into Florence's text through carelessness. The AS. Chr. states that his death was on St. Andrew's Day (30 November) 1016.

4414. Stevenson translates *ewet* or *ouet* bason. The word does not occur in any dictionary I have consulted.

4431. Glastonbury.

4440. Eadmund and Eadward.

And before ever she knew it,
Or any man could tell her,
The two boys were taken from her.
To Cnut they were brought direct.
This did Eadric, the traitor.
Thus he thought to increase his honour.

To London went this wicked felon.
King Cnut was there and many a thane.
Before the king he kneeled;
In his ear he told him
How he had wrought with Eadmund,
And of the children whom he had brought.
When the king had heard it all,
He was very sad and wroth.
He sent for all his thanes;
He had the treason told them.
When he had proved it in their hearing,
He had him (Eadric) taken, then he was led
To an ancient tower, situated so that
When the tide rises, Thames beats it.
The king himself came after;
He sent for all the citizens.
He had an axe brought,
I know not if it had his equal under heaven.
In the forelock of the traitor
He caused a rod to be twisted round.
When the forelock was firmly held
King Cnut came straightway.
He gave him a quick stroke,
From the body he severed the head.
He had the body thrown down,
The tide came up outside.

4460. The AS. Chr. and Florence put Eadric's death in the next year, 1017, instead of immediately following his murder of Eadmund. Florence indeed gives the indiction of the year in which Edmund was killed as XV., which suits 1017, though he puts the death among the events of the year 1016.

He made them throw out the felon's head;
Both went towards the deep sea.
The living devil take them.
Thus ended Eadric Streona.
And the king said to his household,
So that many heard it,
" This man slew my brother.
" In him I have avenged all my friends:
" He was indeed my brother in truth,
" I will never put another instead of him.
" As this has happened so
" May Beelzebub have the body of Eadric."
The king went down thence,
And mounted a horse.
He went to speak with the Queen,
To seek counsel and ask
For the two lads, the sons of Eadmund.
Said the Queen. " Where are they? "
Answered the king, " At Westminster,
" To the abbot I delivered them yesterday."

" Sir," said she, " believe me
" You must take other steps.
" These are the right heirs of the land,
" If they live, they will make war.
" While you can have peace
" If you take my advice. Cause it to be known
" That they are taken to another land;
" Beware of their doing harm.
" Trust them to such a man
" That they may be kept from evil."
Then they called for a Dane,
A noble man, a distant Marcher,
A city he had and a great earldom,
He was called Walgar.
They entrusted the two lads to him,
Who were king's sons, and noble.

He received them, to nourish them well,
To bring them up and keep them.
He thought indeed that if he lived,
He would bring them up in great honour.
What shall I say? He departed,
And went to Denmark.
With the children he went.
One was called Eadgar,
The other's name was Æthelred.
This was the younger lad.
Well were they kept and well nourished.
When they were somewhat grown,
And had passed twelve years,
They were very noble and pleasing.

To England came the news
That their right heirs were grown up.
Greatly the English rejoiced,
For they did not love the Danes.
They made ready ships,
And would send thither.
When this was told to the Queen,
Whose name was Emeline (Ælfgifu Emma),
King Æthelred had first married her,
Now king Cnut had her;
She had two sons by Æthelred,
Eadward was one, the other Ælfred.
Earl Richard of Normandy
Had his nephews in keeping.
They were again the right heirs.
They would have England.
Queen Emma was their mother,
Whom king Cnut had after their father.

4516. Eadmund and Eadward, according to Florence of Worcester (*s.a.* 1017). The latter died on his return to England in 1057, having married a lady named Agatha, niece of the Emperor Henry II., by whom he was father of Eadgar Ætheling, Margaret, wife of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Christina, a nun at Romsey.

For her two sons, whom she loved much,
The two lads troubled her.
And also for her lord's sake,
She wished them much ill.
And when she heard that the English
Had a desire to make them kings,
She devised an evil plan.
To her lord she went, with bent head.
" Sire," said she, " You know not
" The sons of Eadmund will be sent for:
" The English say they are the right heirs;
" They wish to receive them instead of you."
Cnut replied, " Can this be so?"
" Yes, dear lord, at Porchester
" Is a ship prepared
" Which will bring them with a great company."
The king sent straightway,
They found the ship ready.
They took harness and rigging,
They put the men in prison.
They came back to tell the tidings to the king.
When he heard all, he was full of wrath.

THEN he had his writs sealed,
And sent beyond sea
To his two sons, who were there
And held Denmark.
He bade them, and his barons
To take the lads,
And maim them secretly,
So they could never be cured.
There was one to hear this counsel,
Who, if he could, would turn it another way.

4542. *i.e.* Eadmund and Eadward.

4570. Florence says Cnut sent them to the king of Sweden to be killed. (*s.a.* 1017.)

Hastily then he ordered
Walgar who had charge of the children,
If he held them dear at all,
He should send them away;
For if they were found there
They would surely be maimed.
The good man did not delay.
He left his land to his three sons.
With only three ships he put to sea.
He so well accomplished his journey
That in only five days he passed Russia,
And came to the land of Hungary.
The sixth day he arrived
Beneath the city of Gardimbre.
The king was there and the queen,
To whom Hungary was subject.
Walgar was acquainted with them.
He adorned the two children.
He came to the king and greeted him.
The king rose up to meet him.
He embraced Walgar, set him beside him,
And made cheer and joy with him.
He knew well about the two lads,
How he had cared for them,
And that they were right heirs of England.
But he knew not what he wished to ask
Until the master spoke.
The king asked, so he showed him
Of the two lads, how it was
That men wished to destroy them.
Then he told him how they had fled,
And how they came to ask his pity.
And if he would give them counsel,

4583. Florence, 1017.

4587. Florence calls this king Salomon. Stephen I. was reigning from A.D 1000 to 1038. There was a king Salomon in 1063.

That they might recover their land.
" Sir," said he, " they will hold it of you,
" And they will become thy men."
The king replied, " They are welcome.
" All my power and my strength
" I will put forth to help them.
" I will exert myself to raise them.
" To my power I will make war
" On those who have taken their land."
Walgar replied:—" Thanks to you.
" Upon your faith, I entrust them to you.
" As you have trust in God
" I entreat you, keep them well."
The children remained there;
Three years after they were grown up.
The younger was fifteen years old.
But the eldest was the taller.
He had passed nineteen years.
Eadgar was his name. He was well favoured.
The king's daughter took him for her lover.
And he loved her; this was known;
Before a whole year had passed,
The lady became pregnant.
What shall I say? It went so far
That the matter could not be concealed.
The king heard it, it was told him.
He was but little wroth.
He even said he would agree to it.
If he would take her, he would give her to him.
The youth agreed;
He kissed the king's foot.
And the king summoned his folk.
The next day was the meeting;

4624. It was Eadward the younger who was father of Margaret and Eadgar Ætheling. See note, p. 143.

The king gave his daughter to Eadgar.
Before his people, he married her,
And the king gave all to know
That Eadgar should be his heir after his days.
As he had no son, he made him his heir,
Because of his eldest daughter whom he took.
Therefore have I told you, I would have you know,
Marvel not at it.
From this Eadgar and his wife
Issued the precious gem,
Margaret they called her.
King Malcolm made her his queen.
She had an elder brother,
Eadgar the Ætheling was he named.
The English sent for the children,
For their father was no longer alive.
The two children were the right heirs,
[To him] who would acknowledge them as true.
When they should have landed in Humber
A storm fell on the sea,
Which drove them into Scotland.
King Malcolm seized them;
He made Margaret his queen.
She was devoted to God.
Six sons, I trow, the king had by her.
Now will I tell you the first three,
Donald, Duncan, Eadmund;
The other three, I think they were kings,
Eadgar, Alexander, and David.
This lineage sprang from Eadmund,

4660. It was in 1067 she went to Scotland with her mother, brother, and sister, and married Malcolm. AS. Chr. 1067.

4663. The names given by Buchanan are Edward, killed at the siege of Alnwick, Edmund, and Ethelred, died in exile in England, being driven out by their uncle Donald, Edgar, Alexander, and David, afterwards kings, Matilda wife of king Henry I., and Mary wife of Eustace, of Boulogne. (Rerum Scot. Hist., Lib. vii.)

Who was king in England.
And all his forefathers before him.
Now I will return to the Danes.
Cnut and Emma his wife
Had a very fair daughter.
Gunhild was the damsel's name.
The king had besides two sons,
They were descended only from Danes.
Harold and Harthacnut were their names.
These two held the kingdom.
After Cnut they held it seven years.
Beyond sea were the children
Who ought by right to have reigned.
Men caused them much trouble.
Cnut was a good king, rich and powerful.
His inheritance was very great.
Denmark he had and England.
All Norway he went to conquer.
He drove out king Olaf,
He returned to England.
While Cnut was reigning better [than Olaf],
Olaf returned with many folk.
He thought to recover Norway.
The Norwegians summoned their army.
They fought a bitter battle.
They killed Olaf who was the right king.
Then was Cnut lord of three kingdoms.
He found few who dared gainsay him.
And nevertheless he was gainsaid,
And his command despised.
At London he was on the Thames.

4670. AS. Chr. 1067.
4674. Gunhild married the emperor Henry III. (Simeon of Durham, II., 155. Rolls Ed.)
4686. AS. Chr. 1028.
4694. AS. Chr. 1030.
4699. Henry of Huntingdon says this occurred on the sea shore.

The tide flowed near the church,
Which was called Westminster.
The king, on foot, stopped
On the bank, on the sand.
The tide rose quickly,
It approached fast, it came near the king.
Cnut in his hand held his staff.
He said to the tide "Turn back,
" Flee from before me lest I strike thee."
The sea did not go back a step for him;
And more and more the tide rose.
The king stood, he waited.
Then he struck the water with his staff.
The water for that did not cease,
Before it came up to the king and wetted him.
WHEN the king saw he had waited too long,
And that the tide would do nothing for him,
He went back from the beach.
Then he rested on a stone,
Stretched his hands towards the east,
Hear what he said, his folk listening:
" Him who makes the sea rise,
" Men ought truly to believe and worship.
" He is a good king, I am a poor one.
" I am a mortal man, but He is living;
" His command makes everything.
" Him I pray to be my guard.
" I will go to Rome to seek Him.
" From Him I will hold all my land."
Then he had his way prepared.
He would go without delay.
He took plenty of gold and silver.
All the bridges which he found
Beyond the mountains on his voyage,
And on this side over the water,
The king had made and repaired

With the goods which he would give.
He redeemed the bondage,
St. Peter's pence. By money, of the house
Which the English support at Rome.
By this means he obtained that no one
Of England should be put in irons,
Nor should leave his kingdom,
For any sin he had done.
In his country he should purge himself.

When the king had accomplished this
He returned to England.
But he did not tarry there long.
To Scotland he went with his host.
So well he spoke to the king and promised,
That the king would hold of him, he said.
He had him well [bound] by treaty.
But he could never get service from him.
Before the full month passed
Death of Cnut. Both the kings came to their end.
And the sons of Cnut both reigned.
Harold. Harold first all asked for.
Harthacnut. He reigned two years and Harthacnut five.
And king Cnut, their father, twenty.
These two gave their sister,
Gunhild, to the powerful emperor,
Who then had Rome in his dominion,
And Almain and Lombardy.

4738. "Et a Johanne Papa ut Scholam Anglorum ab omni tributo et thelone liberaret, impetravit." Florence, 1031. *Legacion* can hardly mean legation here, as the first archbishop of Canterbury who was legate was Theobald, in 1139. (Gervase of Canterbury, ii. 384.) I have ventured to assume that the word should be *ligacion*.

4748. AS. Chr. 1031.

4754. Cnut died November 12, 1035, Malcolm in 1034. AS. Chr.

4757. Harold reigned 4 years 16 weeks, Harthacnut, 2 years less 12 nights. AS. Chr. 1039, 1042.

But, as I told you before,
Seven years they ruled the country.
Then the Danish heirs were dead, 4765 Death of Harold.
Great joy the English made.
For the Danes held them cheap, Death of Harthacnu.
Oftentimes they shamed them.
If a hundred met one [Dane] alone,
It was bad for them if they did not bow to him. 4770
And if they came upon a bridge,
They waited; it was ill if they moved
Before the Dane had passed.
In passing each [Englishman] made obeisance.
Who did it not, if he was taken, 4775
Shamefully men beat him.
So cheap were the English.
So the Danes insulted them.
Now they discussed what they should do,
For which heirs they should send. 4780
If they sent to Hungary
It would be too far, they have little aid.
In the end they agreed
That they should send to Normandy
For Eadward and for Ælfred. 4785
Eadward was the elder brother.
He had gone into Hungary
To help his cousins
In a war which they had.
The people of Velcase caused it. 4790

When the English did not find him,
They brought Ælfred with them.

4787. The AS. Chr. speaks of Eadward coming to England in 1040 before Harthacnut's death.

4790. This probably refers to the last wars of Stephen king of Hungary with Henry duke of Bavaria, son of the emperor Conrad. Can *Velcase* mean *Bulgare?* Bonfinius Rer. Hungar., p. 212.

4792. The AS. Chr. puts Ælfred's return and death in 1036.

Much they hasted because of the Danes.
They did not wish them to be kings any more.
And yet there was a man
Who had a son by the sister of two kings.
She was the daughter of Cnut and sister of Harold.
Now hear what he wished to do.
He wished to make one of his own children heir.
This hope he afterwards obtained.
Earl Godwine came to London,
Which held with the Danes.
There were all assembled,
They waited for Ælfred.
All the thanes of the kingdom
Had sent for him.
Earl Godwine thought with himself,
Took and sent for horsemen,
And other folk well armed.
Towards the sea he went.
That night he lodged at Guildford.
He had great desire to do wrong.
Next day Ælfred came there.
Earl Godwine led him
To the top of Geldesdone Hill,
" Sire," said he, "to your crown
" All that you see belongs,
" And a thousand times as much and a hundred and a hundred.
ÆLFRED replied, "Thanks to God.
" If it be permitted me to possess it
Treason. " I will set up good customs,
" And will love well peace and right."

4797. Godwine's wife, Gytha, was sister of Ulf jarl, who married Cnut's sister, Estrith. Lappenberg, ii., 208.

4799. The AS. Chr. (1036) says that Godwine would not permit Ælfred to go to his mother in Winchester, "because the public voice was then greatly in favour of Harold," the son of Cnut. Can this line be due to Gaimar's taking this Harold for Godwine's son ?

4815. William of Malmesbury, Lib. ii., 188, says this took place at Gillingham.

Godwine had indeed commanded,
As soon as he cried "Warrai,"
That all the Normans should be seized.
By nines were they killed.
The nine were straightway beheaded,
The tenth was saved.
Thus they were slain by nines,
One escaped out of ten.
Then they took Ælfred,
They carried him to Ely.
There they put out his eyes.
Round a stake they had him tied,
His great intestine they drew out
With spikes, which they had made,
There they had him tied thus
To draw out his bowel,
So that he could no more stand on his feet.
His soul fled, and they rejoiced
That they had murdered him thus.
For love of Godwine they did this.

But the thanes when they heard it,
Who had sent for Ælfred,
Where grieved and very sad;
And they said, if Godwine were taken,
No earthly thing should save him;
Much worse should he die than Eadric Streona.
Earl Godwine did not wait,
He took ship, he and his folk;
To Denmark he fled.
There was he well received.

4834. *Aler* is perhaps an error for *allier* = *alligare*.

4840. The AS. Chr. by saying that Ælfred abode with the monks seems to imply that he lived some time. He was buried in the south porch of Ely Cathedral.

4849. As Mr. Stevenson suggests, this flight of Godwine to Denmark seems to be a confused reference to his flight to Bruges in 1051. AS. Chr.

And the English crossed the sea.
They go to give hostages to Eadward.
They make him sure of the crown,
That they will make him king and chief.
And he then sent for his company,
And got ready much folk.
He came to the sea, crossed it easily,
And was crowned at London.
Then he held the land, established his laws.
Never were such laws before.
Peace he loved well, and right and justice.
Therefore he established them in such a way
That never before, nor since his day
Could any king make better.
When he had thus settled and was thus reigning
Godwine prepared himself.
With a great fleet, which he had,
Into Thames he sailed straight.
Then he sent for his friends,
Of whom he had many in the country,
That of their mercy they should speak to the king,
That he might have his right, this he prayed of them;
And they did so. They spoke so well,
Before the king they led him.
They brought him on this condition
That he would follow the king's judgment.
He gave a pledge to do right,
And many a rich man was surety for him.

THE pledges were indeed
Very noble and fair and handsome.
Of fine silver seven great caskets,
Of pure gold were the rings,
Stones were therein of many kinds,
Well set in gold rings.

4860. At Winchester. AS. Chr. 1043.

Jaspers, sapphires and topazes,
Beryls, sards, chrysoprases,
Alectores and diamonds,
And agates and alabaster (?)
Very well made were the caskets.
Each had a lid
Well worked in gold and silver.
Each was valued at one hundred marks,
But for the stones, and for the gold,
They were worth more than any treasure.
Earl Godwine had gained them
From the king of Sweden (?) whom he had killed,
This was the pledge he gave.
Then they called him, he would answer.

THE king himself rose,
With great anger he accused him,
And said that by him his brother died;
He betrayed him as a felon and robber;
And if he purges himself at all of this,
He shall cause it to be proved, this he said.
The earl replied:—"Altogether I deny it,
" As you have told it here.
" Word by word I will deny it.
" I will purge it by trial.
" And I have given you my pledge,
" By trial let it be granted.
" Of your appeal and of my answer
" Let all these barons say the right."
There was a great assembly,
Earls, thanes, many a wise man.

4889. *Alectores.* "Alectorias vocant in ventriculis gallinaceorum inventas, crystallina specie, magnitudine fabæ; quibus Milonem Crotoniensem usum in certaminibus, invictum fuisse videri volunt." Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvii. 54.

4890. This compurgation was made by Godwine in the year 1040 according to Florence of Worcester.

Earl Lewine was seated there.
He was powerful in Cheshire.
Earl Siward sate there then,
Who was lord of York,
And of the county of Huntingdon,
Which belonged to his person.
Earl Leofric held Norfolk.
With the others he sate on the bench.
Twelve earls there were, very wise,
Besides thanes and clergy,
Who listened to his words.
But they held their peace, none moved
Thence till they had commandment
From the king that they should proceed to judgment,
And then they rose in their places.
Earl Siward went first.
Into a chamber they passed,
Into which they mounted by a step;
They seated themselves to judge right.
Then a knight rose,
Mærleswegen was his name.
A Dane he was, rich, and a thane,
Towards Godwine he bowed himself,
And nevertheless he spoke right out.
" Lords," said he, " you have heard
" How this earl is appealed,
" And you have heard the answer.
" He has denied all, you know it well.
" If the king charges him with felony,

4930. *Algent*, subj. of *aller*. Bartsch's Chrestomathie, 506.

4937. Mærleswegen retired to Scotland with Eadgar Ætheling in 1067, and was present at the storming of York in 1069 by Svein's sons Asbiorn and Thorkell. AS. Chr. " Marleswain vicecomes " witnesses a charter of the time of William I. in the Peterborough Cartulary called " Swafham," and occurs in Domesday.

" There has been nothing seen or heard,
" And no man comes forward
" Who says, 'It was done in my sight.'
" Consider it, for it is my belief
" They may still be friends."
EARL Siward, on the other side,
Said, "This I have in my thought,
" To the king he denies boldly.
" All he says ought to be credited
" If he did not deny felony,
" Treason and perfidy.
" But from these a man ought to defend himself.
" He ought to wait for judgment.
" This is a great matter, an appeal by the king,
" It will come to trial, I trow,
" By fire, or by water, or by battle,
" With one of these three there will be no failure."
"So it will be, sire," said Freegis,
" [But] this is not the law of it in this country;
" For a simple word of a blind accusation
" We will not make a new trial.
" By his oath he well acquits himself,
" There is no need for more delay."
Leofric spoke, of Northampton:
" King Eadward wears the crown.
" Great importance belongs to his appeal.
" Well should one follow his will.
" He has taken pledge of justice.
" I do not think such a one was ever seen.
" As he commenced it in honour,
" He cries for mercy to his lord.
" According to the appeal which the king made,
" By law he will follow his plea.

4963. The name Fregis appears as the holder of land in Stotfald hundred, Northants, before the Conquest. Domesday Book, 223.

" There is nothing to do with battle,
" Of no avail is an oath,
" Nor fire, nor water, nor ordeal.
" We will not judge in such manner.
" A witness by hearing or seeing,
" He ought by right to have,
" Who wishes to bring another to the iron,
" Or make him float in water;
" But a decision without a trial,
" Let us decide on together.
" Of great riches and honour,
" Let him make an offer to his lord,
" Let the offer be such as I shall say.
" I will impose it on Earl Godwine.
" Let him be armed and his five sons,
" And his nephews, of whom he has ten.
" Let them be armed, sixty in all.
" With all arms let them be provided.
" According to the law of us English,
" Let all their harness be specified.
" Let the hauberks be broidered with gold,
" And the helms be circled with gold,
" And the shields with gold bosses.
" Earl Godwine has great treasure.
" On each bracelet let there be as much gold
" As weighs at least twenty ounces.
" On their arms let them have their gold manacles.

4985. *Fer* perhaps refers to the hot ploughshares of the ordeal.

4996. Quorum unusquisque habebat duas in suis brachiis aureas armillas, sedecim uncias pendentes, loricam trilicem indutam, in capite cassidem ex parte deauratam, gladium deauratis capulis renibus accinctum, Danicam securim auro argentoque redimitam in sinistro humero pendentem, in manu sinistra clipeum, cujus umbo clavique erant deaurati, in dextra lanceam quæ lingua Anglorum *ategar* appellatur. Florence, 1040.

" In such wise let them give themselves to the king,
" That the king may have all their homages.
" Let them bring hostages to keep faith,
" And their harness be delivered to him;
" Then let him do his will.
" Let earl Godwine be with the king,
" At his mercy, until he has reparation.
" This award, if it be agreed to,
" Is very honourable on both sides.
" Nor for us will it be ill settled,
" According to the appeal which the king has made,
" If we decide it thus."
All said "We grant it well."

Now all were agreed to this.
They came before the king.
When this award was repeated
It was granted by both sides.
The king received all their homages;
He took hostages for keeping faith.
He took the arms, the gold and the silver.
He kissed them as a sign of agreement.
And the earl served him so well
That they were afterwards such good friends
That the king married his daughter,
And crowned her as queen,
And restored to him all his earldom,
And raised all his sons.
He made them earls, so much he loved them.
With great honour Eadward reigned.

At the time that this was so,
And this king thus reigned,
Then were the Normans driven
Out of the land, all in anger.

5029. Eadgyth. AS. Chr. 1044 (1043).
5037. AS. Chr. 1052.

Likewise archbishop Robert
Was driven out, and lost much.
Earl Godwine then died.
At Winchester he was buried.
Earl Siward then agreed
With the king of Scotland, whither he went.
But Macbeth broke the peace,
And made no stay in warring.
Earl Siward caused ships to be brought,
His host he sent by sea,
And a great host he led by land.
Against Macbeth he raised such war,
He defeated him in battle,
And slew many of his men.
Gold and silver, harness and swords,
He gained in those countries.
But a son of his, Osbern by name,
And his nephew Siward Barn,
And one of the king's knights,
Whom Siward had taken with him,
And the housecarles whom he led,
He left dead in Scotland.
After this Siward departed.
Then they made Tostig earl,
He was son of Godwine.
He had no right in York.
Then died earl Leofric.
Of his honour was Raulf seized.
But little time he held it, and soon ended.
He was a right good man, a short time he lived.

5040. AS. Chr. 1053.

5043. AS. Chr. 1054.

5061. He died at York. AS. Chr. 1055.

5065. AS. Chr. 1057.

5066. Earl Raulf, Eadward's nephew, died the same year, but did not succeed to Leofric's earldom, which descended to his son Ælfgar. The mistake is no doubt due to the proximity of the two names in the Chronicle.

The earl was buried at Peterborough.
At Coventry, earl Leofric.
King Griffith then made treaty.
He protected earl Ælfgar.
But short time lasted the treaty.
He often wrought evil on king Eadward.
Then came Tostig from the north,
And Harold from the south, from Oxford.
The two brothers led a great host.
Straight towards Wales they journeyed.
The South Welsh fought
Against Griffith, conquered his folk,
Cut off the king's head,
Presented it to Harold and Tostig,
And they carried it to Eadward.
There was no more care about the Welsh.
But the Scotch warred against them.
Often they harried Northumberland.
King Eadward drew near.
Two bishops he sent,
Bishops Ægelwine and Kynsige,
With them went earl Tostig.
To king Malcolm so well they spoke
That they brought him beyond the Tweed.
He came to meet king Eadward.
He had speech with Malcolm.
Presents he gave him; much he honoured him,
Which he made ill use of.
Peace and truce they took between them.
But it lasted few days.
To Rome went earl Tostig,

5071. AS. Chr. 1058.

5075. AS. Chr. 1063.

5089. Simeon of Durham, Hist. Reg. II. 174. Ægelwine was bishop of Durham and Kynsige archbishop of York.

5099. AS. Chr. 1061.

With him the countess Judith.
Meanwhile his earldom
King Malcolm harried all;
Holy Island then was harried,
Which had been always spared before.
Then long time after this
Gathered monks and people
To meet bishop Ægelwine,
St. Oswine. Who took from the earth St. Oswine.
Four hundred years and fifteen beside
Had the body lain there,
At Tynemouth, where it was
And still is. This is true.
And God does there many works
By the holy body, as is known.

In this year returned Tostig
And the countess Judith.
Peace was made with Malcolm.
With him went the thanes.
Those of York, at his return,
Had Tostig in such hatred
That he could not enter the city.
For a little they would have killed him.
Many of his housecarles they slew,
And ill-used several of his retinue.
Then they made Morkere earl,
He was son of earl Ælfgar.

When they had made Morkere lord,
He went with the host to Northamptonshire.
They harried all this county.
They brought the spoil to York.
Tostig went to Baldwin,

5108. Florence of Worcester, 1065.
5120. AS. Chr. 1065.
5131. Baldwin, count of Flanders. The AS. Chr. frequently calls Flanders "Baldwines lande."

Whose sister, lady Judith, he had to wife.
He received him with great honour,
And made cheer with his sister.
Then it was from the Nativity
A thousand years and sixty-six passed. 1066.
In this year Eadward departed, Death of Eadward.
Twenty-four years he reigned, I trow.
The best king, and the best
That the English had for lord.
And queen Eadgyth died, Death of queen Eadgyth.
As God pleased and must be.
At Westminster they were laid
In two tombs right well wrought.

After their death a comet
(A star, that is, of which soothsayers
And good astronomers
Know that it portends either good or ill)
Showed itself in the firmament.
Many people saw it well.
On the night of "Litania Major"
It made as much brightness as if it were day.
Many men looked at it.
In many places they foretold from it.
Each man said his guess,
But soon followed the great strife,
And the great tribulation,
Which afterwards came to the country.
Then came Tostig with much folk.
Most of them were Flemings.
At Wardstane they landed.
All that country they sorely harried,
And many men they slew.

5136. King Eadward died 5 January 1066. AS. Chr. 1066.
5151. Viij. kal. Mai. (24 April). Pingré says it was seen in China on April 2 and in the West on April 16, and lasted till June. (Cométographie, I., 375.)

They went to Thanet. In that land
Copsi came to meet him.
A thane of his who held of him,
He came from the Isle of Orkney.
Seventeen ships he had in his charge.
Then they overran Brunemue.
That country they confounded.
Great damage and great misery
They caused there and elsewhere.
Then they went to Humber with their fleet.
A great prey they took in Lindsey.
Many men they slew there,
Before they left the country.
EARL Eadwine with a right great host
Quickly came to Lindsey.
Then he defended this country from them.
But they had already done much evil.
Earl Morkere on the other side
Defended his land. They cared not for him.
They were on Humber, near the sea,
Where he prevented their landing.
But the Flemings, when they saw this,
Departed, and failed Tostig.
They went back to their land laden
With the plunder of miserable English.
With those then, who remained,
They turned, then they departed.
Towards Scotland they went,
To Malcolm who had sent for them.
Earl Tostig honoured him much,
And gave him fair gifts.
The king of Norway came thither
With a great fleet, and held with Tostig.

5161. This must be Tostig's descent in the Isle of Wight and Sandwich mentioned in the AS. Chr. 1066, and also by Florence and by Simeon of Durham, II., 179.

Harold Hardrada was the name of this king.
With him held the Danes.
So much they spoke, he and Tostig,
Each pledged his faith to the other,
That all which they conquered together,
All equally they would divide.
Now they wished first by their war
To share between them all England.
They two had a great fleet,
Four hundred ships and seventy more.
So far they floated and so far sailed
That they entered the water of Humber.
From Humber they came to Ouse.
At St. Wilfrid's they left their ships.
Next day they came straight sailing
To York, in the evening.
But the two earls met them.
They led the men of seven counties.
At Fulford they fought.
The Norsemen won the field.
But on both sides was great slaughter.
Then the Norsemen took the land.
They went on seizing all that country,
And driving off much booty.
Who knows not, let him here remember
It was twelve days within September.

FIFTEEN days after king Harold came;
Against the Norsemen he fought a battle.
This was Harold, son of Godwine,
Who punished the Norsemen.

5197. Both Gaimar and the AS. Chr. call him Harfagri instead of Hardrada.

5210. The editor of the Monumenta suggests that this place may be Brayton, of which the church is dedicated to St. Wilfrid.

5215. The AS. Chr. does not mention the place of the battle.

5222. St. Matthew's Eve, 20 September, or 12 Cal. Octobris.

This was at the Bridge of Battle;
He found the Norsemen plundering cattle.
King Harold then followed them.
Fiercely they fought.
Death of Harold Hardrada, and Tostig. The other Harold he slew on the field,
And did likewise with Tostig.
He had the victory over the Danes.
It seemed great glory to the people of the south.
But no one could count half
Of those who were killed on the field.
All the ships and their harness
King Harold seized.
The king's son was found there.
He was led to Harold,
Mercy he begged, ransom he promised.
Harold took homage of him;
And of all the rest
He took good and worthy hostages.
With twenty ships he let them go.
Then they rowed till they reached the sea.

William Bastard. Five days after there landed
Frenchmen, with quite eleven thousand ships,
At Hastings upon the sea.
There they built a castle.
When king Harold heard of it
He gave over to bishop Ealdred
The much booty and harness
Which he had gained from the Norsemen.
Mærleswegen then he left there.
To summon a host he went to the south.
Five days he took in gathering them;
But he could get together but few,
Because of the many men who had been killed

5239. Olaf, AS. Chr., or Hetmund in one MS.
5247. St. Michael's eve, 28th September, AS. Chr.

When God did justice on the Norsemen.
As far as Sussex Harold went.
Such men as he could he took with him.
His two brothers gathered men;
To the battle they came with him,
The one was Gyrth, the other Leofwine,
Against the folk from beyond sea.
When the battles were drawn up, Battle.
And ready to strike,
Many men there were on both sides.
In courage they seemed leopards.
One of the French then hasted,
Before the others he rode.
Taillefer was he named.
He was a minstrel, and bold enough.
Arms he had and a good horse.
He was a bold and noble warrior.
Before the others he set himself.
Before the English he did wonders.
He took his lance by the butt
As if it had been a truncheon.
Up high he threw it,
And by the head he caught it.
Three times thus he threw his lance.
The fourth time, he advanced quite near,
Among the English he hurled it.
Through the body he wounded one.
Then he drew his sword, retreated,
Threw the sword which he held,
On high, then caught it.
One said to the other, who saw this,
That this was enchantment
Which he did before the folk.

5279. The reading of D. and L. (*cuet, cued*) is probably right. In v. 217 the word means *tail*, and no doubt here means the butt end of the lance. Taillefer is not mentioned in the AS. Chr., but by Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, and Wace.

When three times he had thrown his sword,
The horse with open mouth
Went bounding towards the English,
So that there were some who thought they would be eaten
By the horse who thus gaped.
The minstrel had taught him this.
With his sword he struck an Englishman.
He made his hand fly off on the spot.
Another he struck as well as he could.
An ill reward that day he had,
For the English, on all sides,
Hurled at him javelins and darts.
They killed him and his horse.
In an evil hour had he asked for the first blow.
After this the French attacked them,
And the English struck back.
There was raised a very great cry.
Until evening there was no cease
Of striking or thrusting.
Many knights died there.
I cannot name them, I dare not lie,
Who struck the best.

[Earl Alan of Brittany
Struck well with his company.
He struck like a baron.
Right well the Bretons did.
With the king he came to this land
To help him in his war.
He was his cousin, of his lineage,
A nobleman of high descent.

5322. In Faustina, B. vii., f. 72, is an illumination of earl Alan receiving a charter from William I. granting him the land of earl Eadwine in Yorkshire. The pedigree appended is printed in Dugdale, Mon. Angl., v. 574, with an insufficient reference.

Much he served and loved the king,
And he right well rewarded him.
Richmond he gave him in the north,
A good castle fair and strong.
In many places in England
The king gave him land.
Long he held it, and then came to his end.
At St. Edmund's he was buried.
Now I have spoken of this baron
I will return to my story.
He and the others struck so well
That they gained the battle.]
But I know well that in the end
The English had the worse.
In the evening they turned to flight.
Many a body remained, empty of the soul.
Harold lay there and his two brothers;
By them died sons and fathers,
Uncles, nephews of all the lords.
The English endured their violence.
Leofwine and Gyrth were slain.
Earl William had the country.
Twenty-two years was he its lord,
Except five weeks to tell.

But when he had reigned a short time
And well quieted the land,
A thousand and sixty-seven years there had been MLXVII.
Since God was born, as it pleased Him.
Then the king sent for his knights,
He retained full a thousand soldiers;
Straightway he crossed the sea,
To Normandy he went,
He settled the country, then he returned.
At London he held festival,

5351. AS. Chr. 1067.

But in coming from Normandy
Some of his people perished at sea.
This year truly
Many folk saw a sign.
In likeness of fire it was,
In the air it greatly flamed and burned:
Comet. Towards the earth it approached,
For a little it quite lighted it up.
Then it revolved up above,
Then fell into the deep sea.
In many places it burnt woods and plains.
There was no man who was certain
Nor who knew what this meant,
Nor what this sign portended.
In the country of Northumberland
This fire went about showing itself;
And in one year, in two seasons,
Were these displays.

In this year, truly,
King William, with much folk,
With earls and with his barons,
Went far in his regions.
When he came to Nottingham,
He sent to York by ban,
And by prayer and by love,
That they should acknowledge him as lord.
He sent an archbishop thither.
Ealdred was his name, by him he ordered
(He was archbishop of the city;
Very far went his power,)
That to him should come all the thanes
Of the city and the neighbourhood.
For to those who would hold of him
Their inheritance, he would well return

5363. This comet appeared in May, 1067. Pingré, I. 378.
5379. AS. Chr. 1067.

What their ancestors had before,
And what their fathers held,
In peace to go and safe to come;
He who wished to depart from him
Might go back safely,
He should have no hindrance.
All those who were summoned came,
The king imprisoned them.
To York then he went.
In a castle he shut up
The thanes taken in the country.
He gave their lands to the French.
Then he went south, harrying;
Many a town he left burning.

In this year I tell you of
Came back Godwine, Eadmund, and Tostig.
Godwine and Eadmund, the sons of Harold,
And the son of Swegen, Tostig, came back.
With a great fleet they came.
Ernold (Eadnoth) was aware of it,
A rich man of the country.
He sent for his folk and his friends,
He gathered a host, went against them,
A fierce battle he then fought with them.
But I cannot say truly
Who struck most hardily.
But this I know, the Danes conquered;
French and English lost the day,
Many died and many were slain.

5400. This treacherous capture of the English lords is not mentioned in the AS. Chr., only the building of the castle. Simeon puts the visit to York in 1068.

5405. According to the AS. Chr. 1067 one of Harold's sons attacked Bristol that year and was beaten off by Eadnoth, and next year both of them entered the Taw, and were again beaten off by earl Brian.

5408. Swegen III., king of Denmark 1046–74. He left no legitimate issue, but thirteen natural sons, the names of all of whom are not known.

Then the Danes took York.
But the good king when he heard of it
Grieved much and was greatly wroth.
Then he made ready Flemings.
He sent them there to war.
At Durham, on a hill,
There they would make a castle.
But the English were troubled at this,
With the Flemings they meddled.
They slew them all in one day.
Both the men and their lord.
THIS year Swegen sent
(A king full of wrath)
His brother Asbiorn and his three sons,
Harold and Cnut and Buern Leriz,
With a great fleet into England.
Danes, Norsemen, to make war,
Entered the mouth of Humber.
The peasants came against them;
To York they came,
And the castles they beat down,
Which the Normans had built.
Many a soul left its body,
For the wardens were slain.
Very few escaped alive.
Gold and silver enough
And of other goods much they got.
English and Danes divided it.
Such took a share as had no joy thereof.

5420. By the Danes, Gaimar means Eadgar Ætheling and some Northumbrians. AS. Chr. 1068.

5425. AS. Chr. 1068. Simeon of Durham, II p. 187.

5430. AS. Chr. 1069.

5434. See Anderson's Genealogies 418. Harold IX. and Cnut IV., who succeeded their father Swegen. Another son who succeeded Swegen was Eric the Good. It is possible that Buern Leriz is an error for Eric Barn. Langebeck, Script. Rer. Dan. iii., 282. L'Art de Vérifier (Ed. 1770), 503.

For the king came, took the city,
Danes, Norsemen, all he slew.
King William did not end then,
He destroyed everything as far as Tyne.
Bishop Walchere was slain.
The king destroyed his enemies,
At Gateshead he avenged him,
The king who had sent him thither.
A YEAR after bishop Ægelwine
And Siward Barn to sea
Went from Scotland with new ships.
As far as Humber they sailed.
Earl Morkere came to meet them.
He took ship, and joined with them.
At Welle they met the English.
They were outlaws to king William.
So much they spoke about comradeship,
That each wished to help the other.
There were many outlaws.
One noble man was their lord,
Who was named Hereward,
One of the best of the country.
Normans had disinherited him.
Now all were gathered with him.
Earl Morkere and his thanes,
The bishop and his companions.
Then they harried much of the country
Which the Normans had taken.
Thence they went to Ely.
They did not fear their enemy.
There they would tarry,
And let the winter pass.
But when William heard this

5453. AS. Chr. 1080.
5458. AS. Chr. 1072 (1071).
5463. By Welle, Gaimar probably means Ely. See AS. Chr. 1072 (1071).

He prepared himself for something quite different.
He summoned his host, sent for men-of-war,
French, English, and horsemen.
Towards the sea he sent sailors,
Shipmen, sergeants, freebooters,
And other folk, of whom he had many.
None of the besieged could depart,
And besides throughout the woods
All the passes were guarded,
And the marsh all round
Was well guarded against them.

Then the king commanded
That a bridge should be built across the marsh.
He said that he would destroy them all,
That none should escape him.
When they knew this at Ely
They put themselves at his mercy.
All went to cry for mercy,
Except Hereward, who was right brave.
He escaped with few folk,
Geri with him, his kinsman.
With them they had five companions.
A man who brought fish
To the guards along the marsh
Acted like a good and courteous man.
In his boat he received them.
With reeds and flags he covered them up.
Towards the guards he began to row,
As the evening began to grow dark,
Near their quarters in his boat.
The French were in a tent.
Guy, the sheriff, was their captain.
Well he knew the fisherman,
And well they knew it was he coming,
Of him none of them took heed.
They saw the fisherman rowing.

It was night, they sat at meat.
Forth from the ship came Hereward.
In courage like a leopard.
His comrades came after.
In a wood they made for the tent.
With them came the fisherman.
Hereward was erst his lord.
What shall I say? The knights
Were surprised at their meal.
They entered with axes in their hands.
In striking hard they were not amiss,
Twenty and six Normans they slew,
And twelve English were slain there.
Great was the fear among the houses.
They shared in the flight.
They left horses all saddled.
The outlaws mounted them,
At leisure and safe.
They had no hindrance,
They were ready to do mischief.
Each chose a good horse.
The wood was near, they entered in,
They did not go at random.
Well they knew all that country.
Many of their friends were there.
In a town to which they came
They found ten of their comrades,
These joined Hereward.
Before they were eight, now they were ten more,
Eighteen comrades there were.
Before they had passed Huntingdon
They had a hundred men well armed,
Of Hereward's own vassals.
His men they were and faithful to him.
Before the morrow's sun had risen

5530. These Englishmen were on the Norman side. Hereward's party only amounted to eight (v. 5503), and none were killed (v. 5546).

Seven hundred had come to him.
They followed him to Bruneswald.
Now their company was very large,
They assaulted a city.
They assaulted Peterborough which had betrayed him.
Soon was the wall all broken.
They entered in, enough they took
Of gold and silver, vair and gris.
Other gear there was enough.
They wrought this thing upon the monks.
Thence they went to Stamford.
They did no wrong with what they took there,
For the townsmen resisted,
So that Hereward was driven away.
They raised strife against the king,
With much wrong and lawlessness.
Thus he avenged himself, and it was no wrong,
On the men of Peterborough and Stamford.
What shall I say? For many years
Hereward held out against the Normans;
He and Winter, his comrade,
And Dan Geri, a brave man,
Alveriz, Grugan, Saiswold, Azecier,
These and the other men of war
Warred thus against the French.
If one of them met three
They did not leave without a fight.
This was seen again at Bruneswald,
Where Gier fought,
Who was right strong and brave and hardy.
With six others he attacked Hereward,
His body alone. He (Hereward) did not care.
Four he slew, three fled.
Wounded, bleeding, they fled.
In many places it befel thus

5557. AS. Chr. 1070.
5563. To Ely. AS. Chr. 1070.
5575. See the names of his comrades at vol. I. p. 373.

That he defended himself well against seven.
Of seven men he had the strength.
A hardier man was never seen.

Thus for several years he warred,
Till a lady sent for him,
Who had heard speak of him.
Many times she sent for him
That he should come to her, if he pleased;
Her father would give him the honour,
And if he took her for wife
Well could he war against the French.
It was Alftrued who thus sent
To Hereward, whom she loved much.
So many times she sent for him
That Hereward made ready.
He went to her with many folk.
Verily he had a truce;
He was about to make peace with the king.
Within the month he was to pass
The sea to fight the men of Le Mans,
Who had taken the king's castles.
He had been there before.
He had slain Gauter del Bois,
And Dan Gefrai del Maine
He had kept a week in prison.
Now he thought to go in peace.
Gold and silver he had great plenty.

When the Normans heard this
They broke the peace, they set on him.
At his meat they set on him.
If Hereward had been warned
The bravest would have appeared a coward.

5599. The Vita Herwardi calls her "uxor Dolfini Comitis," but gives no name. See Vol. I., p. 397.

5611. I suppose this means Geoffrey of Mayenne, whose castle was taken by William I. in 1063 (Freeman, N. C. III. 208–12), and who was also concerned in the subsequent insurrection in Maine in 1073, which is perhaps the occasion referred to here.

Ailward watched him ill,
His chaplain. He should have watched,
But fell asleep upon a rock.
What shall I say? He was surprised,
But nobly he carried himself.
He carried himself like a lion,
He and Winter, his companion.
As he could not lay hold on his hauberk,
Nor on his arms to arm himself,
Nor could leap on his horse,
He took a shield which he saw lie,
And a lance and a sword.
He girded on the sword, he bared it,
Before all his comrades
He made himself ready like a lion.
Proudly he said to the French,
" The King had given me truce,
" But you come in anger,
" Take my gear, and slay my men.
" You have surprised me at my meat.
" Foul traitors, I will sell myself dear"
Three javelins a servant held,
His man he was, he came before him.
One of them he handed to his lord.
A knight was going about,
Through all the field he went seeking
And asking oft for Hereward.
Of his men he had slain
And put to death as many as ten.
As he went seeking him
The hero came before him.
He let fly the javelin at him.
In the middle of the shield it struck the knight.
It burst through his hauberk, it did not stop.
It pierced his heart, thus it befel,
And he fell, it could no other be.
At his death he had no priest.
Then the Normans set on him,

They shot at him and hurled spears;
On all sides they surrounded him.
In many places they wounded his body,
And he struck them as does a wild boar,
As long as the lance could hold out.
And when the lance failed him,
With his sword of steel he struck great blows.
Such a one thought to have had him very cheap
Who had to buy him with his life.
And when they found him so hard,
Some dared no longer stay;
For he struck strongly,
He attacked them quick and often.
With the sword he killed four.
With the strokes he struck the wood resounded.
But then broke his brand of steel
Upon the helm of a knight;
And he took the shield in his hands
And smote with it so that he killed two Frenchmen.
But four came at his back
Who smote him through the body,
With four lances they smote him.
No wonder if he fell.
On his knees he kneeled.
With such force he threw the shield,
That one of those who had smitten him
He smote so hard with the shield in its flight
That in two halves he broke his neck.
This man was named Raul de Dol.
From Tutbury (?) he had come.
Now both were struck dead,
Hereward and the Breton,
Raul de Dol was his name.
Then Halselin killed outright
This Hereward, and took off his head.

5687. Tutbury belonged to Henry de Ferrers. Domesday Book (f. 248*b*) mentions a "Radulfus Miles Henrici," who might be the same as this Raul de Dol.

He swore by God and His strength,
And the others who saw him,
Many times they swore hard
That one so bold had never been found;
And that if he had had with him three such,
Ill would the French have come there.
And if he had not been killed thus
He would have driven them all out of the country.

Earl Morkere, his comrade,
Died in a long imprisonment.
Thus did the bishop also,
Who foolishly surrendered themselves.
And the others who surrendered
Suffered such evils in the prison
Better would it have been for them, when they were taken,
That they had been killed that day
When they were cast into prison,
And Hereward escaped.

After this, in that time,
As the true history tells us,
King William and his barons
Led a great host against Malcolm.
Malcolm assembled his host.
He came to meet them readily, and soon
At Abernethy met
These two kings. So much spoke
Their lords that they agreed.
All the Scotch thanked God.
This was done three years after.
Raul, the earl of Waers,

5700. Morkere was set free by William I. just before his death, and imprisoned again by his successor. Simeon of Durham, 1087.
5703. Bishop Egelwine died at Abingdon. AS. Chr. 1072 (1071).
5711. AS. Chr. 1073 (1072).
5717. Simeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester, *s. a.* 1072.
5722. Ralph Guader, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. AS. Chr. 1076 (1075). Sim. Dunelm. 1074.

Was banished. He had forfeited.
King William took Waltheof.
Earl Waltheof and earl Roger
Would drive out the king.
Afterwards Waltheof lost his head
For this rashness, and from Winchester
Long time after he was removed,
As pleased God and his mercy.
Monks they were who carried him away.
To St. Guthlac they presented him.
At Croyland they buried him.
His body they cherished well.
Afterwards it was often seen in the place
That God did by it many works.
Then after this, in a short time,
The king died, I trow.
And the queen had died,
Maud, who led a good life.
Three sons survived this king,
And fair daughters more than three.
His eldest son was named Robert.
Under heaven there was no better lord.
He was duke of Normandy.
Over Normans was his dominion.
Much goodness and much valour
And much foreign service
Did this duke of Normandy,
And much fair knighthood.
This was he who did right well.
Jerusalem he took from the heathen.
He conquered the good city.

Death of William Bastard.

5725. Roger, son of Wm. FitzOsbert, earl of Hereford. AS. Chr., Sim. Dunelm.

5727. AS. Chr. 1077 (1076).

5738. September 9, 1087. AS. Chr.

5752 Jerusalem was taken in June 1099. Hen. Hunt., p. 229.

By Christians he was praised.
For Curbarant, whom he slew,
The duke came into such high worth,
That they wished to choose him king.
They counselled that he should be their lord
At the city of Antioch.
There was he held as protector.
He conquered it like a valiant lord;
Then he gave it to the Normans;
And the other good cities,
As the duke devised,
Were divided and given,
The lands and the countries.
Duke Godfrey by his award,
Was made king in Jerusalem.
Because he (Robert) did not wish to tarry there,
He left it to him. He made him his heir thereof.
Then he returned by Conversana.
He took with him the duke's daughter, Sibilla;
To Normandy with her he came.
A son he had, he kept her long.
Now I will speak of the king, his brother.
He had the name of William, as his father had.
He was much praised.
The English, the Normans crowned him.
While the duke was conquering
They made him king in England,
And he held it and reigned well.
Normans, English he ruled hard.
All the land he brought to peace.

5755. Curbarant or Kerboga, general of the Sultan of Persia, was defeated before Antioch by the Christians and slain by duke Robert on June 28, 1098. Hen. Hunt., 227. W. Malms., Bk. iv., § 364.

5767. Godfrey de Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem 1099.

5772. Sibilla, Robert's wife, was the daughter of William de Conversano. He married her on his return from the East in Apulia. W. Malms., Gesta Regum, iv., c. 2.

Then he crossed the sea; he went to Séez
With a right great host which he had gathered.
At Alençon he crossed the Sarthe.
He came into Maine, and besieged Le Mans.
He tarried till he took the city.
Then he left some of his household there,
And went into England.
The people of Anjou and Maine,
By the command of Geoffrey Martel,
Came to Le Mans, and besieged it.
On all sides round they sat down,
And much they threatened those within,
And said it was bad for them that they had come inside.

But none the less a messenger
Went full fast to tell the king.
He found him at Brockenhurst,
At the head of the New Forest,
Where he sat at his dinner.
When he saw the king rise from his meat,
He came before him, he saluted him.
The king asked him, "How goes it?
"How fare my knights
" Whom I left in Le Mans the other day?"
"Sir," said he," "they are besieged,
" The siege extends as far as the bridge.
" On all sides of the city
" Are the Angevins quartered.
" More than a thousand tents are spread.

5784. King William went to Normandy in February 1091, AS. Chr., but this refers to his second journey thither in November 1097.

5788. William took Le Mans in August 1098.

5792. Geoffrey Martel was the son of Fulk IV., surnamed Le Rechin, count of Anjou, 1060–1109, and Hermengarde, daughter of Archambaud IV., lord of Bourbon. Geoffrey was killed at the siege of the castle of Lande in 1106.

5800. This is narrated by William of Malmesbury. Gesta Regum, iv., 1.

" Never was such pride seen.
" Each day they set up gallows
" Whereon to hang knights
" And soldiers, and townsmen.
" Take this letter, Sir king."
The king took it, broke it open at once.
He gave the letter to Ranulf Flambard.
All that the messenger had said
The knights sent in their letter;
That he should send succour to the city
For each day the folk increased.
THE king when he heard it, was sore grieved.
On a horse he straightway leapt;
To Southampton he went;
He sent for all his soldiers;
He ordered them to come after him,
To make no stay till they came to him.
And he with a privy company,
Came to the sea, and passed it.
Against the wind he passed the sea.
The steersman asked him
If he would go with a contrary wind
And endanger himself on the sea.
"Brother," said he, "hold your peace,
" You never saw a king drowned.
" Nor shall I be now the first.
" Set your ships afloat."
So far have they sailed and steered
That they arrived at Barfleur.
He had in his household retinue
A thousand and seven hundred at that time.
All were rich knights.
Know that the king held them dear,
The knights whom he retained.
In short space he did good to them.
Rich they were and well equipped,
Among them was no poverty.

But richly came the king,
Like a wise and courteous man.
The soldiers whom he had summoned,
Of them there were more than enough.
Three thousand had the king's writ.
He kept them, I know not why,
For he had no war,
Nor did he fear any man,
But for his great nobility
He had joined such folk to him.
What shall I say of his barons?
What a man was earl Hugh!
The emperor of Lombardy
Did not lead such a company,
As he did of his private retinue.
Never was his house shut
To gentleman or freeman.
Water in pool or pond
Was [not] easier to draw
Than was his drink and food.
Always he had riches in plenty.
Never did he give so much one day
That on the morrow he remembered it,
And did not part with as much again.
Earl of Chester he was called.
With much folk he went to the king.
Robert, the earl of Mellent,
Went to the king with much folk.
Earl Robert, he of Belesme,

5860. Hugh Lupus of Avranches, son of the sister of William I., created earl of Chester 1070.

5875. Robert de Mellent was son of Roger de Beaumont, founder of the abbey of Préaux in Normandy. His power and influence both in England and Normandy are mentioned by William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, v., 407, and Henry of Huntingdon in the Epistola de Contemptu Mundi.

5877. Robert de Belesme, son of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Chichester, Arundel, and Shrewsbury. Dugdale, I. 28. Gaimar says nothing of his

Had a thousand knights at his will.
In England he had three counties.
Earl of Ponthieu was he called,
So was he earl of Leneimeis,
Of Esparlon, and Sessuneis,
His was Argentan and Séez.
Roche Mabille was in his peace.
In Rouen he had many streets.
He was earl of six counties.
He was the best knight
That men knew, to war.
He came to his lord the king.
A thousand knights he led with him.
And Hugh de Muncumeri
Came to the king likewise.
Earl Roger was their brother.
He had the surname of Poitevin.
Earl Ernulf was the fourth brother.
In person he was worth an emperor.
These four were of Normandy.
To the king there came to give aid
Walter Giffard and the earl of Eu.
Their knights were no wise few.
Earl William, he of Evreux,
He and Eustace of Dreux,
Came to the king with many men.

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cruelty and other vices of which Henry of Huntingdon and Orderic speak.

5882. Sessuneis may be an error for Sonnois, a district between Roche Mabille and Belesme.

5883. Argentoil. Dugdale, i. 29.

5891. Robert de Bellesme's younger brother, who held the earldom before him.

5894. So called because he married a Poitevin lady. W. Malmes., v.

5899. Walter Giffard was created earl of Buckingham by William I. William count of Eu deserted Robert duke of Normandy for his brother William in 1094. Sim. Dunelm., ii., 223.

5901. Son of William count of Evreux.

At Barfleur they waited for his host.
And William of Mortein
Waited for the king, who was far off.
He and Rotro of Mortaigne,
These two earls had a right great company.

From beyond sea such folk came
That whoever undertook to name them,
Unless they were first written down,
Never would they be numbered.
All the folk were moved.
This was seen this year,
And all came willingly
To serve the king, who was waiting for the host.
But when the Angevins knew it,
And the people of Maine, one morning early
They went off; they did a very wise thing.
It was not good to remain,
And if the king had pursued them
Doubtless he would have taken the Angevins.
Never was king so well loved,
Nor so honoured by his folk.

The king, when he heard that they had gone,
Went to Rouen by the great bridge.
The earl of Maine was there in prison.
He was willing to give a great ransom.
But he said that if he had known
That they would have taken him,
He would have borne himself otherwise;
The king should never have taken Le Mans.

5905. William count of Mortaigne.

5928. Elias de la Fleche. AS. Chr. 1099. There is an account of his dealings with William Rufus in Beaugendre's Life of Hildebert, Migne's Patrologiæ Cursus, vol. 171, p. 66.

5930. "Fortuitu," inquit, "me cepisti; sed si possem evadere, novi quid facerem." W. Malmes., iv., 320.

When this was told before the king,
He had him brought before him.
With all good humour he asked him
If he had thus boasted.
He replied, "Sir, I said it.
" Much am I loved in this country.
" There is not under heaven so strong a king,
" That if he came with force against me,
" He would not lose, if I knew it,
" So that I had assembled my people."
The king, when he heard it, began to laugh.
In good humour, not in anger,
He bade him go away,
Take Le Mans and he [the king] would fight for it.
And he was glad, and went away.
All his castles the king gave back
To him, in good will,
And even Le Mans, the strong city.
And [the earl] sent for his barons,
He wished to stir up strife.
But his barons counselled him
To give up the city to the king,
And the castles of his country,
And that he should be his liegeman for ever.
Earl Elias did this,
Became his man, did not refuse.
And if he had not done this
There would have been a bitter dispute between them.
The king would have taken him by force,
And slain him by a right ill death.
The king then had Normandy,
And all Maine in his power.

5962. Mr. Stevenson translates this line "the king seized him by force " and put him to a shameful death," but Helias did not die till 1110. AS. Chr.

Through all France the barons
Feared him as a lion.
As far as Poictiers there remained no man
Whom he did not make bow to him.
By his great nobleness,
All his neighbours were subject to him.
And if he could have reigned longer
He would have gone to Rome to claim
The ancient right of that country,
Which Brennus and Belinus had.

THE king, when all was at peace,
Went straight to the sea.
To England he returned,
At Westminster he held his feast.
In his new hall
He held a rich and fair feast.
Many kings, earls and dukes were there.
Three hundred ushers he had at the door.
Each one wore vair or gris,
Or rich cloth from foreign lands.
These conducted the barons
Up the steps, instead of grooms.
With the wands which they held in their hands
They made way for the barons
That no groom approached them,
Unless one of them ordered.
Likewise all came by them,
Who brought the dishes
From the kitchen and the offices,
And the drink and the meat.
These ushers conducted them
On account of the plate which they carried,

5978. William kept Whitsuntide in Westminster Hall both in 1099 and 1100, the former being the first time he held his court there. AS. Chr. 1099, 1100.

That no greedy person might seize it,
Nor spoil nor break it.
Liberal fee had these ushers,
As belonged to their office.
Of great honour were they possessed.
At the court they were well served ;
Each had his livery,
As he ought to have at court.
THE king, among a marvellous company of barons,
Heard mass in his house.
The kings of Wales were there,
Who ought to bear the swords,
And they wished much to claim
That this was their right office.
But the Normans would not suffer it.
Four earls went before ;
Each held a sword.
Each served as a noble porter.
Earl Hugh was so proud
That he deigned to carry nothing.
For he said he was not a servant.
The king laughed at it, he was so merry.
He asked him to take his golden wand,
And rule equally with him.
The earl replied :—" I will take it,
" As lord I will return it to you,
" I will bear it as long as you will,
" For the great weight which you bear
" Of the mantle, the sceptre, and the crown,
" Of which you are king and owner.
" And for the honour which you have done me,
" I put myself in fealty to you.
" Ever will I be faithful to you,
" But never will I compare myself to you
" By any equality that may be.

5997. Read *eschetast*, which is a form of *acheter*.

" You are chosen and blessed as king,
" And I am yours, and ought to be,
" To serve you, I grant it well."
A while he held the king's wand,
In great love, in simple manner.
At the gospel, he gave it back to him.
The king was much pleased at these words.
And to his heirs it should be a right,
And to all the earls of Chester,
That in such office they should serve
To help bear the wand.
The king gave him North Wales.
He granted it to him to advance his honour.
And full oft jested
The king of the earl, to his familiars,
Of the sword which he threw down,
And to what good it turned to him.
And ever were turned to good
The deeds of the king and his bounty;
And ever will be talked of
The baronage which he gathered.
And of the earl likewise,
Ever will folk talk.
Of them should men example take
Of rising to-day, of falling to-morrow.
He who in his life does good,
Ever are his children more honoured.
Likewise him who rises easily,
With the finger men point at his deeds,
And all say, " See there,
" He who will never last.
" May evil ruin seize him.
" He has risen too high; he may well fall."
He is of Nero's lineage,

6059. *aire, eire* is perhaps from *errer* = marcher, agir. (Burguy, iii., 601.)
6062. Or " will never give."

And of Judas, the foul felon,
And of Herod, and of Cain,
Who does not think that an end will come.
What he can snatch,
He takes his pleasure in keeping.
Ever he thinks he wants money.
He puts his money to usury.
He makes usury out of a single penny.
In a short time will increase
A single penny into many marks of silver.
Who thus rises often falls.

Let us leave this, and speak of the king.
He held his feast like a baron.
But I have no leisure to relate all
The great riches he displayed;
Nor the great gifts he gave.
Many a nobleman he knighted there.
With Giffard the Poitevin alone,
Who, in the illegitimate line, was his kinsman,
He knighted thirty youths.
He (Giffard) had cut their locks,
All had their hair cut,
For their lord was wroth
Because he tarried there a month
Before the king gave them arms.
He had himself and his men shorn.
With shorn locks they went to court.
These were the first youths
Who had their locks cut.
The king laughed and mocked at it.

6084. Stevenson translates *Barbastre*, "the man with the beard." I am inclined to think it must have something to do with *bastre*, illegitimate, referring to Walter Giffard's affinity with William. Giffard was son of Osbern de Bolebec and Avelina, sister of Gunnora, mistress, afterwards wife, of Richard I., duke of Normandy. Gunnora was William Rufus' great-great-grandmother. Wm. of Jumieges, lib. VIII., cap. 37.

He took it as a courtesy.
And when the king took it well,
Some of his youths who had come there
Were shorn also.
Then was in court a cropping.
More than three hundred had their hair cropped,
Never did they leave it off after in court.
The second month that Giffard came
The king held this feast.
So richly he knighted them
That for ever it will he spoken of.
For these and others he did so much
That all London shone.
What shall I say of this feast?
So rich it was, it could not be more so.

When the king had held his court
The news arrived
That Malcolm was slain,
The king, who was his enemy.
Robert de Munbrai had killed
This king, whether it was right or wrong.
At Alnwick was the battle.
Three thousand men in all by tale
Were slain there with Malcolm;
And on both sides many a good baron.
It was Geoffrey de Gulevent,
He and Morel, his kinsman,
Who took the life of Malcolm.
When the news was heard
The king sent for the earl
To come to court, he will hear his words.

6113. AS. Chr. 1093.
6115. Robert de Mowbray was earl of Northumberland 1090–1095.
6121. Morel of Bamborough, the earl's steward and kinsman (Ord. Vit. Le Prevost's Ed. III. 397), and Malcolm's gossip is mentioned in the AS. Chr. and elsewhere, but not Geoffrey de Gulevent.

And according to what he would hear,
He would be well rewarded for doing right.

THE earl, he of Mowbray, Robert,
Was accused by a traitor.
His man he was, he had brought him up.
He had told this to the king.
This had told the wicked felon.
The earl was arraigned of the treason.
One of these traitors was he
Who wished to kill the king,
With the same treason
Which the barons proposed,
For which Waltheof was put to death.
Black William of Eu broke his trust.
Geffrai Baignard challenged him for it.
He vanquished William of Eu.
There were so many appellants
That the earl of Northumberland
Would not go thither at this time.
At a castle on the sea,
Which was called Bamborough,
There he went in.
The king with his host went thither.
The new castle then he built.
Then he took Morpeth, a strong castle,
Which stood on a hill.
Above Wansbeck it stood.
William de Morlei held it.
And when he [the king] had taken this castle
He advanced into the country.
At Bamborough upon the sea

6129. According to the AS. Chr. king William's displeasure with the earl of Northumberland was owing to his refusal to come to court at Easter and Whitsuntide 1095. Florence, II. 38, and Simeon of Durham, II. 225, speak of the conspiracy between him and William count of Eu.

6141. AS. Chr. 1096, after the capture of Robert Mowbray.

He made all his host stay.
Robert de Moubray was there,
He whom the king wished to take.
The king tarried there a great while,
And many assaults he endured there.
But the castle had scant victuals.
When the earl saw that they failed,
Towards the sea by the postern
He came to the ship, which one man steered.
In he entered with few folk.
He put to sea, he had a right good wind.
To Tynemouth he went.
Then he thought he had quite escaped.
But early in the morning it was told the king,
Who turned the matter quite otherwise.
He contrived so that he took him.
He did not put him to death nor kill him,
But he was in prison for twenty years.
In the prison he ended, dying.
A good man he became before he died.
He never saw again anything that he had.

Now had the king put all at peace,
Before this host repaired
Towards the kingdom of Scotland.
King Eadgar was one of his friends.
From him he had received his kingdom,
In free service, without tribute.
And the king granted him freely,

6164. This account omits the attempt to take the New Castle.

6172. The king does not appear to have been at Bamborough in person at the earl's capture. The words of the AS. Chr. "Ða þa se cyng "ongean com" may have led Gaimar to suppose the king returned to Northumberland, but it possibly means only returned from his Welsh expedition.

6182. Eadgar was son of the late king Malcolm and Margaret, and was set upon the throne of Scotland by Eadgar Ætheling, with the support of king William. AS. Chr. 1097.

That when he came towards his court,
He should have sixty shillings a day;
That he might be served with great honour,
Besides presents and other gifts.
This was his proper livery,
From the time he left his kingdom
Till he returned again.
So much he had in his visits
In proof that the king was his lord.
Everywhere went his dominion,
In England and in Normandy;
And his heirs have likewise
This heritage in possession,
So had they all their time.
Never was king more feared
Than was this king by his neighbours.
All he made obedient to him.
King and duke was this lord,
Who led this joyous life.
Also he was duke of Normandy,
Of which earl Robert had none.
He had gone to Jerusalem.
He had given it to the king to hold.
From that time he held it while he lived.
Henry his brother ruled it.
  But when he had reigned some time,
And well established peace,
And held such justice and right,
That no one lost anything by wrong,
And no free man was put out
Or injured in his kingdom;
For by his just rule
He had made commandment
That those who held by free tenure,
If they refused their house
To any free man born,
They should be quite disinherited.

And meat and lodging.
Should be open to free men.
All the free men who had need
Could procure this.
On the other hand he had set
His justices about his land,
His foresters in his forests,
That never dog nor archer should enter there.
And if an archer entered there,
If he was taken, he was evil entreated.
And the dogs lost their feet,
Never were any spared.
To keep the forests for the king
They expeditated them.
Then you might see in the thickets
Harts, roebucks, bucks, and wild boars.
Hares, foxes, and other deer
Were in such plenty in these wastes
That no man alone could count the thousands
For all the gold that is in Rome.
The king loved these sports much.
He never tired night or day,
All day he was joyous and made merry.
A red beard he had and fair hair.
Therefore I tell and say wherefore
He had the surname of the Red King.
THIS noble king, with great splendour,
Held his kingdom in honour.
In the thirteenth year that he reigned thus
Then it befell, as it pleased God,
The king went to hunt
Towards Brockenhurst, to shoot.
This is in the New Forest,
A place which is named Brockenhurst.

6236. There is no doubt what *espeleter* means here, though I have not met this form of the word before.

Privately he went.
Walter Tirel he took with him.
Walter was a rich man.
In France he was a lord of the country.
Poix was his, a strong castle.
He had enough at his pleasure;
He had come to serve the king,
To get gifts and wages.
With great kindness he was received.
Much was he cherished by the king,
Because he was a foreigner,
The noble king cherished him.
Together the two went talking,
Diverting themselves with many things,
Until Walter began to jest,
And craftily to talk to the king.
He asked him, laughing,
Why he tarried so long.
" King, since you are so powerful,
" Why do you not increase your worth ?
" Already you have no neighbour near
" Who against you dares raise his hand.
" For if you choose to go against him,
" You could lead all the others.
" All are your men, subject to you,
" Bretons, men of Maine and Anjou,
" And the Flemings hold of you.
" The men of Burgundy have you for king,
" And Eustace, he of Boulogne,
" You can well lead at your need.
" Alan the Black of Brittany,
" You can well lead in your company.
" You have so many allies and so much folk,
" I marvel much that you wait so long

6287. Alanus Niger was brother of the previous Alan according to the pedigree in Faustina, B. vii., f. 72. See v. 5322.

" Before you make war somewhere,
" And conquer beyond your land."
The king replied briefly:
" As far as the mountains I will lead my men,
" Then I will go to the west,
" At Poictiers I will hold my feast.
" At this Christmas which is coming,
" If I live so long, my seat shall be there."
" That is a great thing," said Walter,
" To go to the mountains, then return
" And hold the feast at Poictiers.
" An ill death may they die,
" The Burgundians and the French,
" If they are ever subject to the English."
The king had said it in joke,
And he (Tirel) was false, and devised many things.
In his heart he kept the felony.
He thought within himself of a plot,
If he could ever see it,
The end should be quite otherwise.

In the forest was the king,
In the thicket, near a marsh.
He wanted to shoot at a stag
Which he saw pass in a herd.
Near a tree he dismounted.
He bent his bow himself.
On all sides the barons dismounted.
The others surrounded the place.
Walter Tirel dismounted
Very near the king, close to an elder,
Against an aspen he leaned.
As the herd passed,
And the great hart came in the midst,
He drew the bow which he held in his hand,
A barbed arrow

Death of William the Red.

6320. In the text the lines are wrongly numbered from here.

He shot, by an evil fate.
Now it befel that he missed the hart,
And to the heart he struck the king.
An arrow went to his heart.
But we know not who drew the bow;
But this said the other archers,
That it came from Walter's bow.
It appeared so, for he fled straightway.
He escaped, the king fell.
Four times he cried out.
He asked for the sacrament,
But there was no one to give it him.
Far from any minster was he, in a waste;
But yet a hunter
Took some herbs with all their flower,
He made the king eat a little;
Thus he thought to communicate him.
He was in God, and ought to be.
He had taken consecrated bread
The Sunday before.
This should be a good warrant for him.

THEN it befel that the king died.
Of his barons there were three with him
Who had dismounted with him.
Two were sons of Richard,
Earl Gilbert and Lord Roger.
They were tried knights.
And Gilbert of Laigle was with them.
They tore their hair,
And made moan without stint.
Never was there such grief shown.
Robert Fitz Hamon came there,
Rich, gentle and a noble baron,

6350. Gilbert of Tunbridge, son of Richard FitzGilbert, earl of Clare. Roger is probably a mistake for Robert, as Roger was settled in Normandy, and probably not in England at the time. Dugdale's Baronage, I., 207, 208.

He made such moan, so much he loved him,
And often said:—"Who will kill me?
"Rather would I die than live longer."
Then he fainted and fell down.
When he came to himself, he wrung his hands.
So feeble and weak he became
That he nearly fell again.
On all sides he heard great mourning.
The grooms and the hunters
Wept and grieved.
Gilbert of Laigle said:
"Be silent, sirs, for Jesus Christ.
"Let be this grief.
"It can bring nothing back.
"Even if for ever we weep thus
"Never shall we have such a lord.
"Whoever loved him, let him appear
"And help me to make a bier."
Then you might have seen grooms dismounting,
And huntsmen taking their axes.
Soon were cut stakes,
Of which they made the bars.
Two branches they found cut down;
They were light and well dried.
They were not too thick, but they were long.
All by measure they prepared them.
With their belts and baldrics
They tied tight the bars.
Then they made a bed upon the bier
Of fair flowers and fern.
Two palfreys they brought
With rich bridles, well saddled.
On these two they laid the bier.
It was not heavy, but light.

6380. *Meinel* may be a form of *meneau*, which now means a mullion.

Then they spread a cloak,
Which was of new cloth.
Fitz Hamon unfolded it,
Robert who loved his lord.
They lay the king upon the bier,
Which the palfreys carried.
He was buried in a cloak (?)
In which William de Munfichet
The day before had been knighted.
It had only been one day worn,
The grey cloak, which he took off.
Above the bier he spread it.

THEN might you see barons on foot
Go weeping and sad.
They would not ride
Because of their lord whom they held so dear.
And the grooms went after
Weeping, and much they bewailed themselves.
The hunters all together
Said "Wretched, miserable,
"What shall we do? What will become of us?
"Never shall we have such a lord."
Till Winchester they did not stop.
There they placed the king
Within the minster of St. Swithun.
There the barons assembled,
With the clergy of the city,
And the bishop and the abbot.
The good bishop Walkelin
Watched the king till morning;
With him monks, clerks, and abbots.
Well was he served and sung for.

6399. *tiretaine* is a species of cloth. Roquefort, Littré.
6421. Walkelin had died on January 3, 1098.

Next day was such a dole
As never man saw in his life;
Nor so many masses, nor such service
Will be done, till God come to judgment,
For one king alone, as they did for him.
Quite otherwise they buried him
Than the barons had done
Where Walter shot him.
Let him who does not believe it go to Winchester,
There he will hear if this can be true.

HERE will I end about the king.
This history caused to be translated
The gentle lady Custance;
Gaimar employed on it, March and April,
And all the twelve months,
Before he had translated about the kings.
He procured many copies,
English books and books on grammar,
Both in French and in Latin,
Before he could come to the end.
If his lady had not helped him
Never by any day could he have finished it.
She sent to Helmsley
For the book of Walter Espec.
Robert, the earl of Gloucester,
Had this history translated
According to the books of the Welsh
Which he had, about British kings.
Walter Espec asked for it.
Earl Robert sent it to him.
Then Walter Espec lent it
To Ralph Fitz Gilbert.
Dame Custance borrowed it
Of her lord, whom she loved much.

Geoffrey Gaimar wrote this book.
He translated them, put in deeds
Which the Welsh had left out.
For he had already obtained,
Whether right or wrong,
The good book of Oxford,
Which belonged to Walter the archdeacon.
Thus he corrected his book well.
And from the history of Winchester
Was corrected this history,
[And] from an English book of Washingborough,
Wherein he found written of the kings,
And of all the emperors,
Who were lords of Rome,
And had tribute of England;
Of the kings who held of them,
Of their lives, and of their treaties,
Of their adventures, and of their deeds,
How each held the land;
Who loved peace and who war.
Of all the most can be found here
By him who will look in this book.
And he who does not believe what I say
Let him ask Nicholas de Trailli.

Now, says Gaimar, if he had warrant,
He would go on to tell of king Henry;
Of whom, if he chose to speak a little,
And translate about his life,
He could tell a thousand things of him,
Which Davit never wrote,
Nor the queen of Louvain
Never held the book of it in her hand.

6489. Adelaide of Louvain married Henry I., 1121, and Wm. de Albini, earl of Arundel. She died 1151. (Wright, p. 227.)

She caused a great book to be made of it,
The first verse noted for singing.
Well spoke Davit and well he composed,
And well he arranged the music.
Dame Custance had a copy of it.
She often read it in her chamber.
And for the copy she gave
A mark of silver burnt and weighed.
In many places is narrated
In the book, what was done.
But of the feasts which the king held,
Of the woods, of the jokes,
Of the gallantry, and of the love
Which the best king showed,
Who ever was or ever will be,
And he was a Christian and blessed,
Davit's writing says little.
Now, says Gaimar, he passes it over.
But if he would take more trouble
He could compose verses about the fairest deeds;
That is about love and gallantry,
And woodland sports and jokes,
And of feasts and splendour,
Of largesses and riches,
And of the barons whom he led,
Of the great gifts he gave:
Of this a man might well sing,
Omitting and passing over nothing.

Now tell Davit, if it please him,
To say on, not to leave off.
For if he will go on writing
He may much amend his book.
And if he will not listen to this,
I will go for him, I will have him taken;
He shall never come out of my prison
Till the song is finished.

Now we have peace and live merrily.
Formerly Gaimar spoke of Troy,
He began there where Jason
Went to fetch the Fleece.
Thus he finishes right here.
May God bless us. Amen.

The epilogue is MSS. D., and L. is as follows:—

Here will I now finish my history.
Of King Henry I will give no account,
For Adela, the good queen,
To whom God give grace divine,
Has dealt thereof in a great book.
Therefore mine finishes thus.
The History of the English ends here.
May Jesus Christ bless all those
Who give ear thereto
And repeat it to others.
Those who know it not, nor have heard it,
The God of Heaven bless them all.
For men ought to study such a thing
Where there is nothing to blame,
Neither villainies nor falsehoods.
This book is not a fable nor a dream.
But it is drawn out of the true history
Of the ancient kings, and their deeds,
Who governed England,
Some in peace and some in war.
Thus it happened, it could no other be.
May God the King of Heaven bless you.

When Hengist and the Saxons
Had wrought their treachery,
And had seized the cities,
The castles and the strongholds,
And had driven out the Britons,
They quartered themselves in their land.

They divided the land in seven,
And seven kings settled there.
To the kingdoms they gave names,
To each according to their will.
Kent they called the first.
This Hengist held in his hand.
The country was very fertile.
There were two cities of note,
Canterbury, the archbishopric,
And Rochester, the bishopric.

THE second they called Sussex.
At Chichester was the king's seat.
Wessex they called the third.
Therein were many cities.
Wilton was the chief.
The king held it in demesne,
Where is now a great abbey.
Nuns have it in their keeping.
And the city of Winchester,
Where now is a rich bishopric,
And the bishopric of Salisbury,
With the city of Amesbury.
The fourth is called Essex,
Which did not last long.
For it was poor beyond measure,
Therefore it lasted but a short time.
East Anglia is the fifth named,
Made out of two countries.
Therein is Norfolk,
And the land of Suffolk.
As learned folk tell us,
The sixth was made by the Mercians.
Many cities are there,
Towns, castles, and rich boroughs.
This realm was rich,
And many cities were therein.

For Dorchester belonged to it,
And Lincoln, and Leicester.
THE seventh was full rich,
For York belonged thereto,
And all as far as Caithness.
More had this [king] alone than the six kings.
He had under him Northumberland,
And the land of Cumberland,
And the earldom of Lothian.
And this king was king of Scotland.
In the end a powerful king,
Who was right valiant in arms,
By force conquered the six kings.
To his use he took their honours.
He was king of Wessex.
He gave new laws to the land.
By his prowess he conquered them all,
And made them his subjects.
As soon as he held the kingdom,
He divided it into thirty-five.
To each he gave its name.
In English he called them shires;
But we who speak Romance,
Name them in another fashion.
What is named *shire* in English,
Is named *county* in French.
I will tell them all by name.
For I know how to name them all.
Kent is the first and chief.
There is the archbishopric
In the city Dorobellum,
Which is called Canterbury.
And there is a bishopric
In the city of Rochester.
The second county is called Sussex;
It is adorned with a bishopric.
Chichester is the capital of the county.

There is the bishop's see.
The third county is Surrey,
And the fourth Hampshire.
There is a bishopric
Within the city of Winchester.
The fifth they call Berkshire,
And the sixth Wiltshire,
Wherein is a bishopric.
At Salisbury is the see.
The seventh is Dorset.
And the eighth Somerset.
In Bath is the bishopric,
Of which the see was then at Wells.
This Bath had erst another name,
As the Saxons say,
Who first settled there;
Achemannestrate they called it.
Devonshire the ninth is named.
It is a land very rich and good.
There is a rich bishopric.
At Exeter is the see.
The tenth is Cornwall.
The men are valiant in battle.
Corineus settled it;
He who drove out the giants.
They call the eleventh Essex,
And the twelfth Middlesex.
The bishopric is at London,
Which is an ancient city.
Suffolk is the thirteenth,
Norfolk the fourteenth.
Now the bishopric is in Norwich.
Then the see was at Thetford.
The county of Cambridge
Is counted the fifteenth.
The bishopric is at Ely.
In a marsh stands the city.

Those who dwell there, in great plenty,
Have oftentimes good fish,
And fowl and venison,
Within the marsh they take.
The sixteenth is far renowned.
Lincoln is that county.
Very rich is the bishopric.
Eight counties belong to it.
Lincoln and Northampton,
Hertford and Huntingdon,
Leicester and Bedford,
Buckingham and Oxford.
Right rich is the bishopric.
Two waters encompass it,
Humber they call the lesser,
Thames the greater is named.
The twenty-fourth is Gloucester.
The twenty-fifth is Worcester.
The bishopric of Worcester
Is much honoured in this country.
The twenty-sixth is Hereford,
Which is the stronger for the bishopric.
For they are much feared
Who dwell within the city.
The twenty-seventh Shropshire.
The twenty-eighth Cheshire.
Within the city of Chester
There is a fair bishopric.
Warwick is the twenty-ninth.
And Stamford the thirtieth, which is near.
Derby the thirty-first,
With the country all around.
The county of Nottingham
Is counted the thirty-second.
York is the thirty-third.
It is the capital, towards the North.
It is a city of antiquity.

There is the archbishopric.
It is the best in England.
Much honour belongs to it.
The length is from Totness
As far as Caithness,
As perfectly describes it to us
Belinus who had it measured.
The county of Northumberland
Is counted for the thirty-fourth.
And there are all situated
The bishopric of Durham,
The land of Cumberland,
With all Westmoreland.
In the last they have appointed
Carlisle. There newly a bishopric.
Thus as I have shown you,
In England there are reckoned
Only two archbishoprics,
And fifteen bishoprics.
There are many cities
Where there is no bishopric,
As Oxford, as Leicester,
As Warwick, as Gloucester
I could name many,
But I will not take more trouble.

But I will speak of the Welsh.
I will tell of the people there.
In Wales there are many cities,
Which were highly renowned,
As Caerwent and Caerleon,
And the city of Snowdon.
And there are five bishoprics,
And a master archbishopric.

---

190. Illa regio in qua est novus episcopatus Carluil. (Hen. Hunt., 10.) The bishopric of Carlisle was founded in 1133. (Hen. Hunt., 253.)

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Of these there are none left
But three, of which I will tell you the sees.
One is at St. David's,
Which before was at Caerleon.
This was once the archbishopric,
Now it is a poor bishopric.
The other is settled at Bangor.
Glamorgan is the third.
They are not in any city,
In consequence of war they are deserted.
But still we know well
That the bishop has the pallium
Of St. David, as he claimed it.
We know well he went to Rome.
Now there is no city left,
For all the country is destroyed,
First by the Saxons,
Then by the war of the Britons;
On the other side, since the French
Have defeated the English
And conquered the land
By fire, by famine, and by war,
They have passed the water of Severn,
And waged war on the Welsh,
And spied out the land.
They conquered much of the land,
And set very grievous laws on it;
For they drove out the Welsh,
They settled in the land;
They built many castles there,
Which are right good and fair.
But natheless often times
Well have the Welsh avenged themselves,
Many of our French have they slain,
Some of our castles they have taken;

---

216. That is, Llandaff.

Openly they go about saying,
Fiercely they threaten us,
That in the end they will have all;
By means of Arthur they will win it back;
And this land all together
They will take from the Latin folk,
They will give back its name to the land,
They will call it Britain again.

Now we will hold our peace about the Welsh,
And speak of the roads
Which were made in this country.
King Belinus had them made.
The first goes from the east
Until it comes to the west.
It crosses the country.
Ikenild the road is called.
The second, according to the Saxons,
Ermingestreet still we call it.
This road is well known.
From the north it goes straight to the south.
The third is far famed.
Watlingstreet it is called.
At Dover this road begins.
Right at Chester it ends.
It takes the length of the land.
The fourth is very wearisome.
This road is called Foss.
It goes through many cities.
It begins at Totness,
And goes as far as Caithness.
Seven hundred leagues is it reckoned.
This road is far famed.
Belinus who had them made

274. This length is not mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon. The two other MSS. read, "eight hundred" and "five hundred."

Placed them in great freedom.
Whoever was outlawed
Should have his peace on these roads.
We have described to you the counties
Of the land, and the bishoprics,
And the names of the four roads.
Now thus will we leave it.
Here ends the history of the English.

277. This refers to the "pax quam habent quatuor Chimini," according to the Laws of Edward the Confessor. Ancient Laws, p. 192.

The Lay of Haveloc the Dane.

Willingly should one hear,
And repeat, and retain
The noble deeds of the ancients,
And their prowess and their good deeds,
To take examples and to remember,
For free men to redress
Villainies and misdeeds.
Such should be the discourse
By which men ought to be corrected;
For many have bad need of it.
Let each one take as for himself,
The adventure of a great king,
And of many other barons,
Of whom I will give you the names.
Shortly enough I will tell you.
I will relate you the adventure.
Haveloc was this king named,
And Cuaran is he called.
Therefore, I mean to tell you of him,
And recal his adventures,
Of which the Bretons made a lay.
They called it from his name
Both Haveloc and Cuaran.
Of his father I will tell first.
Gunter was his name, he was a Dane.
He held the land, he was king.
At the time that Arthur reigned,
He crossed the sea towards Denmark.
He would make the land submit to him,
And have tribute of the king.
With king Gunter he fought,
And with the Danes, and conquered.

The king himself was killed,
And many others of the country.
Hodulf slew him by treason,
Who always had a felon heart.
When Arthur had ended his war
Hodulf gave him all the land,
And the homage of his barons.
Then he departed with his Britons;
Some by constraint, some by fear,
Most of them served Hodulf.
Some there were who sought his ruin
By the advice of Sigar the Stallere,
Who was a good and rich man,
And well knew how to war.
He had the horn to keep
Which no one could sound
Unless he were right heir of the lineage,
Which was over the Danes by inheritance.
Before king Arthur came,
Or had fought with the Danes,
Gunter had his castle
On the sea shore, strong and fair.
With food it was well supplied.
Within he placed his wife and son.
To a baron of the country
He entrusted the care of them.
Grim was his name, much he trusted him,
Loyally he had always served him.
Above everything he commended to him
His son, whom he dearly loved,
That if ill befel him,
If he died in battle,
That he should protect him to his power,
And send him out of the country,
So that he should neither be taken nor found
Nor given up to his enemies.
The child was not very big:

He was no more than seven years old.
All the time he slept
A flame issued from him.
It came out of his mouth,
Such great heat he had in his body.
The flame gave out such an odour,
No man ever smelt anything better.
They held it as a great wonder,
Those of the country who saw it.
After king Gunter was dead,
And his barons and his strength,
Hodulf came down and drove away
All those whom he knew that he loved.
The queen had great fear,
And the good men who protected her,
Lest he should take the castle from them,
And kill the king's son.
They had no strength to defend themselves.
They had to take other counsel.
Grim had ships prepared,
And well laden with victuals.
Forth from the country he meant to flee,
To preserve the right heir from death.
He would take the queen with him,
For fear of the felon king
Who had killed his lord ;
He would soon bring dishonour on her.
When his ship was equipped,
He caused his company to enter,
His knights and his soldiers,
His own wife and his children.
He put the queen in the ship,
He carried Haveloc under his cloak.
He himself went on board last.
He entrusted himself to the God of Heaven.
They weighed anchor from the harbour,
For they had a good wind.

They went across the sea,
For they did not know where to go
Where they could save their lord.
Ill befel them the day,
For they met outlaws
Who loudly challenged them.
Right stoutly they attacked them;
And the others valiantly defended themselves.
[They plundered and spoiled the ship,
And the queen was killed there.]
But they had little strength,
The outlaws slew them all.
None escaped, small or great,
Except Grim, who was known to them,
His wife and his small children,
And Haveloc also was saved there.
When these had escaped from them,
They floated and sailed
Until they came to a harbour,
And landed from the ship.
This was in the North, at Grimsby.
At the time I tell you of
There was no man dwelt there,
Nor was this harbour frequented.
He set up the first house there.
From him it was called Grimsby.
When Grim first arrived,
He cut his ship in two halves.
The ends he set upright;
Within he lodged.
He went to fish as he was wont.
Salt he sold and bought
Till he was well known there,
And well acquainted with the peasants.
Many joined themselves to him.
By the haven they dwelt;
Because of his name, which they had heard,

They called the place Grimsby.
The good man reared his lord,
And his wife served him.
They all took him for his child,
For nothing else they knew.
Grim had made him change his name,
So that therefore no one knew him.
The child grew and improved.
He waxed strong in body and limbs.
Before he had much age
There was no bearded man found
Who would wrestle with him
But the lad would overthrow him.
He was very strong and brave,
And enterprising and wrathful.
Marvellously rejoiced at him
Grim, the good man, who reared him.
But for this his heart was grieved
That he had not brought him up amongst such people
Where he could sometimes hear
Instruction and learn sense.
For he thought in his heart
That yet he should have his inheritance.
Grim called him one day to himself.
" Fair son," said he, "hearken to me.
" Here we live very quietly,
" With fishers, with poor folk,
" Who keep themselves by fishing.
" You are not meet for this trade,
" Here you can learn no good,
" You will never gain anything.
" Go, fair son, into England,
" To learn wisdom and seek gain.
" Take your brothers with you.
" In the court of a great king
" Place yourself, fair son, under the servants.

" You are strong, well grown, and tall,
" So you can carry great burdens.
" Make yourself loved by all men,
" Then give up service
" When you can find an opportunity;
" And God grant that you succeed,
" So that you may gain something there."
When the good man had thus advised him,
And well supplied him with raiment,
He sent him away reluctantly.
The two lads he took with him.
All three thought they were brothers,
As their father had told them.
So long they held the straight road
Until they came to Lincoln.

At this time that I tell you of
A king who was named Alsi
Held the land in his rule.
Lincoln and all Lindsey,
This way towards the North;
And Rutland and Stamford,
Had this Alsi in his inheritance.
But he was a Briton by race.
The kingdom towards Surrey (?)
Another king governed.
Ekenbright was this king's name.
Many a noble baron he had.
He had Alsi's sister [to wife],
(They were companions and friends),
Orewen, a worthy lady.
But between them they had no child,
Except one fair daughter.
Argentille was the maiden's name.
King Ekenbright was ill,
And much troubled by a sore disease.
Well he knew he could not be healed.
He caused Alsi to come to him.

He intrusted to him his daughter,
And delivered to him all his land.
First he made him swear,
His folk seeing it, and promise
That he would bring her up loyally,
And keep her land for her,
Until she was of such age
That she could bear marriage.
When the maid should be grown up,
By the counsel of his tenants,
He should give her to the strongest man
Whom he found in the kingdom;
That he should deliver to him his cities,
His castles and his strongholds,
His niece and his sister in keeping,
And all the men of the honour.
But the queen fell sick,
When king Ekenbright died,
Speedily she died also.
Near her lord she was buried.

About them it is time to stop here.
I will go on to tell of Haveloc.
King Alsi, who then reigned,
And governed the two kingdoms,
Held a fair court, and many folk.
At Lincoln he often dwelled.
This Haveloc came to his court,
And as a cook the king retained him,
Because he saw him strong and tall,
And saw that he was of right good countenance.
Wonderful loads could he lift,
Cut wood, carry water.
He took the dishes
And washed them after meals;
And whatever he could get,
Piece of meat or whole loaf
Very willingly he gave it

To the grooms and to the squires.
So free he was and good natured
That he wished to do pleasure to all.
For the liberality that he had
Among them they took him for a fool.
They made sport of him.
Cuaran they all called him.
For thus call the Britons
A cook in their language.
Often they brought him forth,
The knights and the soldiers,
For the strength that was in him.
When they knew his great strength,
They made him wrestle before them
With the strongest men they knew,
And he threw them all.
And if any of them said him ill,
By sheer strength he tied him up.
So long he held him and punished him,
Till he had pardoned him all,
And they were reconciled.
The king greatly marvelled
At the strength he saw in him.
Ten of the strongest of his house
Had no power to resist him.
Twelve men could not lift
The burdens that he could carry.
He was a long time at the court,
Until there was an assembly,
When the barons came to the court,
Who held their land of Ekenbright;
And now they held of Argentille,
The child, who was his daughter,
Who now was grown up and tall,

273. The king even very often
Made him wrestle before his folk.
He held him as a great wonder
For the strength that was in him. P.

And could well bear children.
They represented to the king,
And required of him, for his niece,
That he should marry her to such a man
As would uphold and advise her,
And that he would thus keep his oath,
That he would acquit himself thereof loyally.
THE king heard what these said,
And the request they made.
He asked them for a respite,
And said he would consult about it.
He wished to know and inquire
To whom he could give her.
He gave them a time and named a day.
He bade them return
When he should have taken counsel;
And he was very crafty.
He spoke of it to his familiars,
And showed them all his heart.
He sought and asked their advice
About those who now demanded
That he should give a lord to his niece
Who would maintain her honourably;
But he would rather bear their war
Than be dispossessed of the land.
Thus said his counsellors:
" Cause her to be sent far off
" Into Brittany, beyond the sea,
" And entrusted to your kinsfolk.
" Let her be nun in an abbey,
" And serve God all her life."
" Lords, I have thought of it all.
" Quite otherwise I will free myself.
" King Ekenbright, when he died,
" And entrusted to me his daughter,
" Made me swear an oath,
" You all seeing, and promise
" That I would give her to the strongest man

" That I should find in the land.
" Loyally can I acquit myself;
" To Cuaran I will give her,
" To him who is in my kitchen.
" She shall be queen of kettles.
" When the lords return
" And make their request,
" In the hearing of all I will show them
" That I will give her to my cook,
" Who is strong and of great courage.
" They know it who have seen him.
" If there is any who gainsays it,
" Or who charges me with villany,
" I will put him in my prison,
" And will give her to the cook."
THUS had the king devised.
On the day that he named to them
He prepared of his household
Seven score armed men in his chamber;
For he thought to have a riot
When she should be married.
The barons came to the court,
The king showed them his intent.
" Lords," said he, " now listen to me,
" Now that you are assembled.
" A request you made to me
" The other day, when you came to me,
" That I should give my niece a husband,
" And yield him her land.
" You know well, and I tell you,
" When king Ekenbright died,
" He put his daughter into my keeping,
" And made me swear an oath
" That I would give her to the strongest man
" That I could find in the kingdom.
" Enough have I sought and asked,
" Until I have found a strong man.

" I have a groom in my kitchen,
" To whom I shall give the girl.
" Cuaran is his name.
" The ten strongest of my house
" Cannot stand up to him,
" Nor endure his play nor his wrestling.
" Truth it is, from here to Rome,
" There is no man with such a chest.
" So will I keep my oath,
" Nor can I give her otherwise."
When the barons had heard
That he had said his will,
Among each other they said openly,
That this should never be suffered by them.
There would have been great blows given,
When he sent for his armed men.
He had his niece brought to them
And married to Cuaran.
To disgrace and shame her
He made her lie with him at night.
When they both were abed
She had great shame of him,
And he as great of her.
He lay on his face, he fell asleep.
He did not wish her to see
The flame which came from him;
But afterwards they so assured each other
By word and by liking,
That he loved her, and lay with her
As a man ought to do with his wife.
The night that first he spoke
Such joy he had that he loved her,
That he fell asleep and forgot.
He lay towards her, and took no heed;
And the girl fell asleep,
She threw her arm over her lover.
It appeared to her in a dream

That she had come to her lord
Beyond the sea in a thicket.
There they found a wild bear;
He had foxes in his company,
All the field was covered.
They tried to attack Cuaran,
When on the other side they saw come
Hounds and wild boars, who defended him,
And killed many of the foxes.
When the foxes were conquered,
One of the boars with great boldness
Went towards the bear and attacked him.
There he killed and overthrew him.
The foxes who held with him
Came together towards Cuaran.
They laid on the earth before him,
They seemed to beg for mercy.
And Cuaran had them bound.
Then he went towards the sea.
But the trees which were in the wood
On all sides bowed to him.
The sea swelled and the waves rose
Up to him. He had great fear.
He saw two lions of great fierceness.
They came against him terribly.
They devoured the beasts of the wood
Which they found in their way.
Cuaran was in great fear,
More for his love than for himself.
They climbed upon a high tree
On account of the lions which they feared.
But the lions came on,
They knelt under the tree.
They made a show of love to him,

405. P. reads *porcs* instead of *chiens*, which is perhaps correct, as hounds and boars would hardly act in concert even in a dream.

And that they took him for their lord.
Throughout the wood there was such a great cry
That Argentille awoke.
She had great fear on account of the dream.
Then she had more for her lord
On account of the flame which she saw
Which came from his mouth.
She rose up and cried
So loud that she woke him.
"Sir," said she, "you burn,
" Alas, you are all on fire."
He embraced her and drew her towards him,
" Fair love," he said, " wherefore
" Are you so frightened?
" Who has thus terrified you?"
" Sir," said she, "I was dreaming,
" I will tell you the vision."
She related and told it to him.
She told him of the fire which she had seen
Which came forth from his mouth.
She thought that all his body
Was alight, therefore she cried out.
Cuaran reassured her.
" Fair love," he said, " fear nothing.
" It is good for your sake and for mine.
" The vision which you have seen
" To-morrow may be known.
" The king will hold his feast.
" He causes all his lords to come.
" There will be venison enough.
" I shall give spits and bacon
" To the squires in great plenty,
" And to the grooms who have loved me.
" The squires are the foxes,
" And the lads who are below them,
" And the bear was killed yesterday
" And put in our kitchen.

" Two bulls the king had baited yesterday.
" We can count them as the lions.
" We can take the caldrons for the sea,
" In which the fire makes the water rise.
" I have interpreted to you the vision.
" Be no more in fear.
" The fire which my mouth threw out
" I will tell you what that will be.
" Our kitchen will burn, I know.
" It will be in trouble and fear
" That we carry out our caldrons,
" And our dishes and our kettles.
" And nevertheless I will not lie,
" From my mouth fire is wont to come
" When I sleep; I know not why.
" Thus it happens, it troubles me."
THEN they left the dream,
And afterwards the young people slept.
But on the morrow morning
When Argentille had risen,
To a chamberlain who was with her,
Who had brought up her father,
She told and related the vision.
He turned it to good,
Then said to her, " In Lindsey
" There was a man of holy life;
" A hermit he was, he dwelt in a wood,
" If you spoke to him, he would tell you
" Of the dream, what it could be.
" For God loved him, he was a priest."
" Friend," said she, " I trust you much,
" For the love of God, come with me,
" I will speak to this hermit
" If you will come with me."
He agreed readily

469. *Beiter* or *baater* means to look or gaze at. (Godefroy.)

To come secretly with her.
He covered her with a cape,
Led her to the hermitage.
He made her speak to the holy man,
And show him all her heart
Of the dream for which she feared,
And of her lord's mouth,
Whence she had seen fire issue,
But knew not what it was.
For charity she asked and prayed him
To advise her, and tell her about it
His advice and his will.
The hermit sighed,
He began his prayers to God,
Then he told her about the vision.
" Fair lady," said he, " what thou hast dreamed
" Of thy lord, thou shalt see it.
" He is born of royal lineage.
" Some day he will have a great inheritance.
" Many folk he will make subject to him
" He shall be king and thou queen.
" Ask him who was his father,
" And if he has sister or brother.
" Then go to their country.
" There thou shalt hear the destiny,
" Of whom he was born and whence he is,
" And God of heaven give thee virtue,
" And give thee to hear such things
" As may turn to thy good."
Argentille took her leave,
And the holy man commended her to God.
She went to her lord,
Secretly and lovingly
She asked him where he was born,
And where were his kinsfolk.
" Lady," said he, " at Grimsby.
" There I left them when I came here.

" Grim, the fisherman, is my father.
" Saburc is the name, I believe, of my mother."
" Sir," said she, " let us go seek him.
" So we will give up to the king his land
" From which he has wrongfully driven me,
" Both you and me, if he insist on it.
" Better to be a beggar elsewhere
" Than despised among my own folk."
Cuaran replied to her :
" Lady, we will soon be there.
" Willingly I will take you with me.
" Let us go and take leave of the king."
This they did in the morning.
Then they took to the road.
The two sons of Grim accompanied them.
They went to Grimsby.
But the good man was dead,
And the lady who had brought him up.
There they found her daughter Kelloc.
She had married a merchant.
They saluted the husband,
And spoke to their sister.
They asked about their father,
And how their mother fared.
She told them that they were dead,
And coming in they made great moan.
Kelloc called Cuaran
And asked him, laughing,
" Friend," said she, " by thy faith
" This woman who is with thee,
" Who is she? She is very fair.
" Is she lady or damsel?"
" Lady," said he, " king Alsi,
" Whom I have long served,
" Gave her to me the other day.
" She is his niece, daughter of his sister.
" She is daughter of a king of great birth;

" But he (Alsi) has all her inheritance."
Kelloc heard what he said.
Marvellous pity took her,
Because he was the son of a king,
And because of the wife he had.
She called Haveloc aside.
And privily asked him
If he knew whose son he was;
If he knew his kin.
He replied, " Grim was my father,
" Thou art my sister, these are my brothers
" Who have come here with me.
" Well I know you are our sister."
Kelloc said to him, " It is not so.
" Keep it secret, if I tell you.
" Cause your wife to come forward,
" And I will make you and her rejoice;
" Whose son you are, I will tell you,
" I will relate you the truth.
" Your father was king Gunter,
" Who was lord over the Danes;
" Hodulf slew him by treason,
" Who ever had a felon heart.
" King Arthur enfeoffed Hodulf,
" And gave him Denmark.
" Grim, our father, fled,
" To save you he left his land.
" Thy mother died at sea;
" For our ship was attacked
" By outlaws, who seized us.
" Most of our folk perished there.
" We escaped death;
" We arrived here at this port.
" My father would go no further.

611. MS. P. substitutes for vv. 611–620 these lines:
We changed your true name,
And called you Cuaran.

" Here he resolved to stay.
" Under this haven he settled.
" He bought and sold salt.
" He took great trouble to bring you up,
" And to conceal and hide you.
" Poorly was he clad
" That you might not be recognised.
" No one was so bold in his house
" As to dare to say your true name.
" Haveloc is your name, dear.
" If you will go to your country
" My husband will guide you there:
" You shall go in his ship.
" The other day he came thence, it is not a month ago.
" He heard enough [to show] that the Danes
" Would have you among them.
" For the king has made himself much hated.
" There is a good man in the land,
" Who always is at war with him.
" Sigar the Stallere is he called.
" We advise you to go to him.
" His wife is of your kin,
" Who often grieves for you
" That she can hear no news.
" Therefore as soon as you can come to them
" You shall have your heritage again.
" You shall take these two lads with you."
Argentille, when she heard this,
Rejoiced greatly.
She promised them faith and love.
If God brought her to honour
She would do them great good, she said.
Then there was little delay.
They soon manned their ship,
And crossed the sea to Denmark.

When they arrived at the country,
And came out of the ship to the land,
The merchant who conveyed them,
Clothed them with good cloth,
Then instructed them what to do,.
And to what town they should betake themselves,
To the city of the steward,
Whom men called Sigar the Stallere.
" Haveloc," said he, " fair friend,
" When you come to his country,
" Go, lodge in his castle,
" And go eat at his table.
" Ask for food for charity.
" Take your wife with you.
" They will soon ask you,
" For the beauty which they will see in her,
" Who you are, and from what country,
" And who gave you such a wife."
They left the merchant,
And held on their way.
So far they journeyed and wandered,
That they arrived at the city,
Where the steward dwelt.
They went straight to his castle.
They found the great man in his courtyard,
They asked for charity,
That he would give them food,
And lodge them at night.
The steward consented.
He led them into the hall.
When it was the hour for meat,
And all went to wash,
The good man sat down to his meat.
He made the three lads sit down,
Argentille near her husband;
They were served with great honour.

The bachelors and the squires
Who served at meat
Gazed at the fair lady,
And greatly praised her beauty.
Six of them took one part,
Together they agreed,
That they would take away the lad's wife;
If he was wroth, they would beat him.
When they rose from meat,
The lads went to rest.
The steward had them conducted
To an inn to sleep.
Those who coveted the lady,
Who was very fair and wise,
Went after them in a street.
They took away the lad's wife;
They would have taken her with them,
When Haveloc got hold of
A sharp hard axe.
I know not by what chance,
One of them held and carried it.
He seized it, he rushed on,
Five he killed and cut down.
One escaped alive,
But he cut off his hand.
A cry rose up in the city.
They turned and fled,
They came running to a minster,
And entered it for safety,
They shut the doors after them.
Haveloc ascended the tower.
The men of the city surrounded it.
On all sides they attacked it,
And he defended himself well.
From the top of the wall he took the stone
And threw it down with force.
Tidings came to the castle,

To the steward, which was not good,
That he whom he had taken in,
Had killed five of his men,
And lamed the sixth,
And himself had escaped;
That he had taken refuge in the church tower,
And the townsmen had besieged him;
They were attacking him vigorously,
And he was defending himself boldly;
He threw down the stones of the tower;
He wounded many and killed more.
The steward called for his horse,
He ordered all his knights
To come with him to the riot
Which had arisen in the city.
First he came to the minster,
And saw Haveloc so well helping himself
That he made them all draw back.
All feared he would strike them.
The steward went forward;
He saw Haveloc, strong and tall
(And he had eaten at his table,
He had been with him);
Handsome body and fair face,
Long arms and long legs.
Steadfastly he gazed at him,
He remembered his lord,
King Gunter, whom he so much loved.
He sighed grievously.
This man was like him in face,
And in height and breadth.
He caused the attack to cease,
And forbade them all to advance.
He parleyed with the lad.
" Throw not, friend," said he.
" I give you truce, speak to me.
" Tell me the cause and why

" You have thus killed my men.
" Which of you is in the wrong?"
" Sir," said he, "I will tell you,
" I will not speak a word of falsehood.
" When we left our dinner
" Before we came to the inn,
" On coming out of your house,
" The boys pursued me.
" They meant to take away my wife,
" And lie with her before me.
" I seized one of their axes,
" And defended myself and her.
" It is true I slew them,
" But I did it in defending myself."
When the steward heard
Their misdeed, he replied,
" Friend," said he, " come forward :
" Fear not at all,
" Beware you hide nothing.
" Tell me where you were born."
" Sir," said he, " in this country,
" Thus one of my friends told me,
" A rich man named Grim
" Who brought me up in his house,
" After the kingdom was conquered,
" And my father was killed,
" Together with me and my mother,
" He fled after my father's death.
" He carried off much gold and silver.
" We wandered long at sea;
" We were attacked by outlaws,
" They slew my mother and I was saved,
" And the good man escaped,
" Who nourished me and loved me much.
" When our ship had arrived
" In a desert country,
" The good man raised a house,

" There he dwelt at first.
" He found enough for us to eat
" By selling salt and fishing.
" Since then so many folk have come thither
" That there is a town and a market.
" Because they called him Grim
" Grimsby is the name of the town.
" When I was grown up I left.
" In the house of king Alsi,
" I was under the cook in the kitchen.
" He gave me this girl.
" She was his kinswoman. I know not why
" He joined her and me.
" I took her out of the land.
" Now I am come to seek my friends;
" I know not where I can find any
" For I can name none."
THE steward replied,
" Fair friend, tell me thy name."
" Haveloc, Sir, am I named,
" And Cuaran was I called
" When I was in the king's court,
" And served in his kitchen."
The steward thought within himself,
In his heart he remembered
That this was the name of the son of the king
Whom Grim had taken with him.
He almost recognised him.
But nevertheless he was in doubt.
He assured him of truce,
And led him to the castle,
His wife and his comrades.
He called them his prisoners.
He had them well served,
And made them lie at night in his chamber.
When the young man was gone to rest
He ordered one of his trusty men

To find out, when he was asleep,
If flame came from him,
For this happened to the son of the king
Whom Grim had taken with him.
Haveloc was very weary,
He fell asleep straightway.
The very hour that he slept
The fire issued from his mouth.
The chamberlain was sore afraid.
He went to tell it to his lord;
And he thanked God
That he had got back the right heir.
He summoned his chaplains
To write and seal his letters.
He sent them by his messengers,
And sent for his friends,
For his men, for his kinsfolk.
Many folk he assembled there,
All those who were in the country
Who hated king Hodulf.
In the morning he had the baths warmed,
And Haveloc bathed and washed.
He clad him in rich clothes,
And also his wife who was with him.
He led them into his hall.
Haveloc was in great fear
Of the many folk he saw.
Haveloc feared greatly
For the men whom he had killed,
That it was the custom of this country
To bathe, wash, and clothe,
And then judge for the crime,
And lead him before the court.
No wonder that he was afraid.
He seized a great axe,
(It hung on the fence on a hook.)
Havelock took it in both hands.

He meant to defend himself valiantly,
If they condemned him to be hung.
THE steward looked at him,
He went towards him and greeted him.
" Sir," said he, "have no fear,
" Give up this axe to me.
" Have no care. I tell you
" I pledge you my honour."
He gave him up the axe,
And he hung it on the hook.
He made him sit on one side,
So that all could see him well.
From his treasury he had brought
The horn which none could sound.
If he was not right heir of the lineage
Over the Danes by inheritance,
To know if he could sound it.
He told them that he would try it.
To him who could sound the horn
He would give his ring of gold.
There was not in the hall knight,
Servant, groom, nor squire,
Who did not put it to his mouth.
Never could any sound it.
The steward took the horn,
He put it in Haveloc's hand.
" Friend," said he, "now try
" If you can sound the horn."
" On my faith," said he, "Sir, I cannot,
" Never have I used a horn.

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879. MS. P. substitutes for v. 879–86 :

He made him sit on one side.
He placed his wife beside him.
He called his chamberlain.
He asked for the king's horn.
He said they should essay it,
To know if they could blow it.

" I do not choose to be mocked.
" But since you command me
" I will put the horn to my mouth,
" And if I can, I will sound it."
Haveloc rose to his feet,
And prepared to blow.
He blessed and crossed the horn.
Loud and well he sounded it.
They held it for a great marvel
All those who were in the hall.
The steward called them,
He showed him to the whole company.
" Lords, for this have I sent for you,
" Because God has revisited us;
" See here our right heir.
" We should have great joy of him"
First of all he uncovered himself,
And kneeled before him.
He became his man, and swore
To serve him loyally.
The others followed him,
All with good will;
All became his men.
After they had received him,
The news was repeated.
It could not be long concealed.
They ran together from all sides,
Rich and poor, who heard it,
They did homage to him,
They dubbed him knight.
The steward helped him so much,
Being a good and loyal man,
That he assembled a marvellous host.
He bade king Hodulf by letter
Surrender the land to him,
And depart with speed.

King Hodulf, when he heard this,
Jested and railed much.
He said he would fight him.
He collected folk from all sides,
And enough men round him.
On the day that was named between them
That the two hosts should meet
And fight together,
Haveloc saw the poor folk
Who had come to help him.
He did not wish them to be killed.
To king Hodulf, by his friends,
He sent word that he would fight him,
Body against body, and if he conquered him,
The folk with him should come
And hold him for their lord.
" I know not why they should fight
" Who are not in fault."
The king did not deign to refuse.
He made all his people disarm.
And Haveloc disarmed his folk on his side.
It seemed to him very long
Before they came together,
And he had gained or lost.
The lords (Hodulf and Haveloc) came together,
They sought each other like lions.
Haveloc was of great courage,
He struck king Hodulf so hard
With an axe which he carried
That he felled him, he did not rise again.
There he slew him before his folk,
Who all cried out loud,
" Sire, mercy, that we may not die,
" For we will serve you willingly."
They turned to him,
And he pardoned them all.

After this deed he received
The kingdom which was his father's.
He established good peace in the land,
And did justice on felons.
His wife trusted and loved him,
And she served him well.
Once she was in despair,
But now God had comforted her,
Since Haveloc was a powerful king.
He held the kingdom more than four years.
He acquired wonderful treasure.
Argentille bade him
Pass into England,
To conquer her inheritance
From which her uncle had cast her out,
And disinherited her with great wrong.
The king said that he would do
What she bade him.
He equipped his navy,
Summoned his folk and his hosts;
He put to sea when there was wind,
And took the queen with him.
Four hundred and eighty ships
Had Haveloc, full of folk.
So long he floated and sailed
That he arrived at Carleflure.
They encamped on the harbour.
They sought food through the country.
Then the noble king sent,
By the advice of his Danes,
To Alsi, to give up to him
The land which Ekenbright held,
Which was given to his niece,
Of which he had disinherited her;
And if he would not surrender it
He said he would take it.

The messengers came to the king,
They found him strong and proud.
When they had told him this,
And he had laughed and joked at it
He answered with pride:
" A wonder," said he, " have I heard
" Of Cuaran, this cook of mine,
" Whom I reared in my house,
" Who comes to demand land of me.
" I will make my cooks tilt at him
" With tripods and with caldrons
" With shovels and with kettles."
The messengers returned;
They related to their lord
The reply the king made to them,
And the term the king gave them.
Before the day they had taken
Alsi sent for all his friends,
And all those whom he could have;
He let none remain.
The hosts assembled at Theford
And prepared to strike.
King Alsi first armed himself.
He mounted a grey horse;
He went to view his enemies,
How many men they might have.
When he saw the Danes
With standards and with shields,
He remembered no more the caldrons,
Nor the shovels nor the kettles,
With which he had threatened them;
He retreated back.
He told his folk what they should do,
And how they should fight.
The shock was rude between them
From that time till the evening,

Till they could last no longer.
Black night made them separate.
Many of the Danes were wounded,
And of the others many killed.
Haveloc was very wroth
For the men he had lost;
He would have gone off with his Danes,
And returned to his fleet
If the queen would have suffered it
But she showed him a trick
To conquer his enemy.
The king remained, he trusted her.
All the night he had great stakes cut,
And well sharpened at both ends.
They tied the dead men to them
And set them up among the living;
Two companies they set in order,
Their axes raised on their necks.

In the morning, when day broke,
King Alsi first armed himself.
So did all his knights
To begin the battle.
But when they saw those on the other side,
All their flesh shuddered.
Very hideous was the company
Of the dead whom they saw on the plain.
Against one man that they had,
On the other side there were seven.
His councillors told the king
That it was no use to fight;
The Danes had gained men,
And he had lost many of his;
He should give the lady her right,
And make peace before it was worse.
The king decided to grant all,
For he could not help it.
By advice of his friends

A treaty was made with the Danish king.
Faithfully he assured him
And gave him sufficient hostages.
All her land he restored
Which Ekenbright held while he lived.
From Holland as far as Colchester
The Danes were lords and masters.
Then Haveloc held his feast
At the city when he came there;
He received the homage of the barons,
And restored their inheritance.
After this affair king Alsi
Only lived fifteen days.
He had no heir so direct
As Haveloc and his wife.
The barons received them,
And surrendered to them cities and castles.
Haveloc held in his rule
Lincoln and all Lindsey.
Twenty years he reigned, he was king.
He conquered much with the help of his Danes.
There was much talk of him.
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That it might always be in memory,
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Who was right brave and valiant.

The End of Haveloc.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[Royal 8vo. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. The Chronicle of England, by John Capgrave. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

   The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., probably written in 1245, on the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many acts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual account.

4. Monumenta Franciscana. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. None of these have been before printed. The second volume contains materials found, since the first volume was published, among the MSS. of Sir Charles Isham, and in various libraries.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle reflects the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three parts, each having a separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, from the election of Henry I. the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world. Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for which period his work is of some value.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV.

10. Memorials of Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which

he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom, not to be elsewhere obtained. Some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Achiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about 1188 and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Re migius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

These letters and papers are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and other provinces of France acquired by Henry V. Here may be traced, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared for its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to 1154, is justly the boast of England; no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861–1863.

The papers are derived from the MSS. in Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from them is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III. but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste wa bishop.

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. If possible, the sources are indicated from which compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.—1. Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales, 1259–1307. 3. Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Præcentore, compilata; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. Johannis Amundesham, Monachi Monasterii S. Albani, ut videtur, Annales; Vols. I. and II. 6. Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui sæculo xv^mo^ floruere; Vol. I., Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, iterum susceptæ; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, quondam adscriptum: Vol. II., Registra Johannis Whethamstede, Willelmi Albon, et Willelmi Walingforde, Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, cum Appendice, continente quasdam Epistolas, a Johanne Whethamstede Conscriptas. 7. Ypodigma Neustriæ a Thoma Walsingham, quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ* in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I.; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple Barrister-at-Law. Years 12–13, 13–14, and 14 Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Luke Owen Pike, Esq., M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1886.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique. The history of the constitution and of the law, of procedure, and of practice, the jurisdiction of the various Courts, and their relation to one another, as well as to the Sovereign and Council, cannot be known without the aid of the Year Books.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy 1449–1450. —Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Commencing with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ending with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The period embraced is less than two years.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "This Alexander in many things wrote what was "true and useful; but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre, and it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited*

by the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia. 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. From MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaignea present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV. 1431–1443. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1884.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Wavrin. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vols. I. and II.) *Edited and translated by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1887.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return Edward IV. to England in the year 1471 after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. It is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French. It is supposed that Peter of Ickham was the supposed author.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* Edward Edwards, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. Chronicon Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the Earliest Times to 1135; and Supplement, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq. M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, or THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not an eye-witness, must have derived his information from eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49): but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM DIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

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54. The Annals of Loch Cé. A Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty, with Appendices. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI.:—Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Beckynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King.

57. Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Watts, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria.—The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a desideratum by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

59. The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

The Poems contained in these volumes have long been known and appreciated as the best satires of the age in which their authors flourished, and were deservedly popular during the 13th and 14th centuries.

60. Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII., from original Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Campbell, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873–1877.

These volumes are valuable as illustrating the acts and proceedings of Henry VII. on ascending the throne, and shadow out the policy he afterwards adopted.

61. Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers. *Edited by* James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

The documents in this volume illustrate, for the most part, the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

62. Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense. The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham; 1311–1316. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1873–1878.

Bishop Kellawe's Register contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical, and is the earliest Register of the Palatinate of Durham.

63. Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

This volume contains several lives of Archbishop Dunstan, opening various points of Historical and Literary interest.

64. Chronicon Angliæ, ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388, Auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albani. *Edited by* Edward Maunde Thompson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

This chronicle gives a circumstantial history of the close of the reign of Edward III.

65. Thómas Saga Erkibyskups. A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket, in Icelandic. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by* M. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

This work is derived from the Life of Becket written by Benedict of Peterborough, and apparently supplies the missing portions in Benedict's biography.

66. Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1875.

This volume contains the "Chronicon Anglicanum," by Ralph of Coggleshall, the "Libellus de Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum," usually ascribed to the same author, and other pieces of an interesting character.

67. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* Joseph Brigstocke Sheppard, Esq., LL.D. 1885.

This publication comprises all contemporary materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket. The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogus, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

68. Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the Original Manuscripts, by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto are some of the most valuable materials for British History. The Abbreviationes Chronicorum extend from the Creation to 1147, and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

69. Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland, for a Portion of the 16th Year of the Reign of Richard II. 1392–93. *Edited by* the Rev. James Graves, A.B. 1877.

This Roll throws considerable light on the History of Ireland at a period little known. It seems the only document of the kind extant.

70. Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ Libri Quinque in Varios Tractatus Distincti. Ad Diversorum et Vetustissimorum Codicum Collationem Typis Vulgati. Vols. I., II., III., IV., V., and VI. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1878–1883.

This is a new edition of Bracton's celebrated work, collated with MSS. in the British Museum; the Libraries of Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, and Gray's Inn; Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; &c.

71. The Historians of the Church of York, and its Archbishops. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1879–1886.

This will form a complete "Corpus Historicum Eboracense," a work very much needed.

72. Registrum Malmesburiense. The Register of Malmesbury Abbey; Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield; *and* Charles Trice Martin, Esq., B.A. 1879, 1880.

This work illustrates many curious points of history, the growth of society, the distribution of land, the relations of landlord and tenant, national customs, &c.

73. HISTORICAL WORKS OF GERVASE OF CANTERBURY. Vols. I. and II. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF STEPHEN, HENRY II., and RICHARD I., BY GERVASE, THE MONK OF CANTERBURY. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D.; Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; &c. 1879, 1880.

The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury are of great importance as regards the questions of Church and State, during the period in which he wrote. This work was printed by Twysden, in the "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.," more than two centuries ago.

74. HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM. THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH, BY HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, ESQ., M.A., of University College, Oxford. 1879.

Henry of Huntingdon's work was first printed by Sir Henry Savile, in 1596, in his "Scriptores post Bedam," and reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. Both editions are very rare and inaccurate. The first five books of the History were published in 1848 in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," which is out of print. The present volume contains the whole of the manuscript of Huntingdon's History in eight books, collated with a manuscript lately discovered at Paris.

75. THE HISTORICAL WORKS OF SYMEON OF DURHAM. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, ESQ., M.A., of University College, Oxford 1882–1885.

The first volume of this edition of the Historical Works of Symeon of Durham, contains the "Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ," and other Works. The second volume contains the "Historia Regum," &c.

76. CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1882, 1883.

The first volume of these Chronicles contains the "Annales Londonienses" and the "Annales Paulini:" the second, I.—Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu magni Regis Edwardi. II.—Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi. III.—Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita, Edwardi II. IV.—Vita et Mors Edwardi II. Conscripta a Thoma de la Moore.

77. REGISTRUM EPISTOLARUM FRATRIS JOHANNIS PECKHAM, ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A., 1882–1886.

These Letters are of great value for illustrating English Ecclesiastical History.

78. REGISTER OF S. OSMUND. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon. Vols. I. and II. 1883, 1884.

This Register, of which a complete copy is here printed for the first time, is among the most ancient of the muniments of the Bishops of Salisbury. It derives its name from containing the statutes, rules, and orders made or compiled by S. Osmund, to be observed in the Cathedral and diocese of Salisbury. The first 19 folios contain the "Consuetudinary," the exposition, as regards ritual, of the "Use of Sarum."

79. CHARTULARY OF THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM HENRY HART, Esq., F.S.A., and the Rev. PONSONBY ANNESLEY LYONS. 1884, 1886.

This Chartulary of the Ancient Benedictine Monastery of Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, came to the Crown on the Dissolution of Monasteries, was afterwards preserved in the Stone Tower, Westminster Hall, and thence transferred to the Public Record Office.

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1874	6	Notices of Records transferred from Chancery, Queen's Bench, and Common Pleas Offices.—Report respecting "Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland."—List of Chancery Pleadings (1662–1690) and Calendar to Chancery Rolls (1662–1713) of Palatinate of Tipperary.	[C. 963]	0 7½
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1879	11	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth (1558–1570)	[C. 2311]	1 4
1880	12	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1570–1576).—Schedule of Parish Registers of Ireland.	[C. 2583]	1 3

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1885	17	Report on Iron Chest of attainders following after 1641 and 1688.—Queen's Bench Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1596–1601).	[C. 4487]	1 6
1886	18	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1601–1603).—Memorandum on Statements (1702) and Declarations (1713–14) of Huguenot Pensioners.—Schedule of present places of Custody of Parish Registers.	[C. 4755]	1 1
1887	19	Notice of Records of Incumbered and Landed Estates Courts.—Report of Keeper of State Papers, containing Table of Abstracts of Decrees of Innocence (1663), with Index.	[C. 5185]	0 6
1888	20	Calendar to Christ Church Deeds in Novum Registrum, 1174–1684. Index to Deputy Keeper's 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Reports.	C. 5535	0 8½

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